
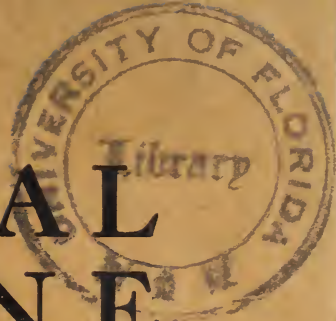


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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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THE DIOCESE OF DELAWARE

From Its Organization to the Election of Its First Bishop

By Edgar Legare Pennington

THE end of the Revolutionary War left the Church of England in the colonies in a sadly run-down condition. There were a few little parishes, mostly along the seaboard, from Maine to Georgia; but they had suffered great losses during the struggle. The Church was at a disadvantage because of its identification with the English cause; and there was a strong prejudice which even the definite American sympathies of some of the clergy could not dissipate.

Delaware was no exception. At Appoquinimink, the Rev. Philip Reading had been a decided loyalist. At the beginning of the War, he wrote home that "many are the rebuffs I am obliged to encounter on the subject of the present commotions, notwithstanding which I am not deterred or discouraged from inculcating the principles of Loyalty to our most gracious Sovereign and a due submission to the Powers of Government on all proper occasions."¹ Threats were used to deter him from reading the prayers for the King; but he persisted in his course, notwithstanding the Declaration of Independence. At last, when threatenings became so prevalent as to endanger the safety of himself and his family, he explained to his congregation, July 28th, 1776, that since he could not read the liturgy according to the prescribed form without incurring the resentment of the people, he would declare the Church shut up for six weeks.² From that time, he continued to discharge the catechetical and parochial functions of his office, but never conducted public services. He died in 1778; and his Church remained vacant for several years.

¹Perry: *Historical Collections*, II., p. 469.

²*Ibid.*, p. 485.

The ministry of the Rev. Aeneas Ross, at New Castle, lasted through the Revolution. He was succeeded at Immanuel Church in 1784 by the Rev. Charles Henry Wharton, who remained till 1788. Doctor Wharton later moved to Burlington, where he died in 1833. He was a man of considerable attainments and renowned as a preacher and scholar.³

Dover was probably vacant during the War. In 1786, the Rev. Samuel Roe was called as rector. He died February 8th, 1791; and his monument is in the churchyard.

The Rev. Samuel Tingley came to Lewes, in Sussex county, not later than 1776; and continued through the War. He was not in sympathy with the American cause; and he was subjected to many humiliations and discouragements. In 1782, he visited New York; and from there he wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts:—"There was not one Clergyman of the Church officiating for a hundred miles in length except myself."⁴

In the measures taken shortly after the Revolution to unite and organize the Episcopal Church in the United States, the congregations of Delaware participated from the outset. The Convention which assembled in Philadelphia, September 27th to October 7th, 1785, was composed of clerical and lay deputies from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. Delaware was represented by the Rev. Charles H. Wharton, D. D., and by Messrs. Thomas Duff, James Sykes, John Reece, Joseph Tatlow, Alexander Reynolds, and Robert Clay.

This Convention, as is well known, laid the foundations of the Protestant Episcopal Church as a national Church in the United States of America. It adopted an application to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England, asking them to confer the Episcopal character upon such duly qualified persons, as should be recommended by this Church in the several States there represented. On the committee for the consideration of these momentous subjects were two Delaware representatives—Doctor Wharton and Mr. Sykes. Doctor Wharton received the thanks of the Convention for a sermon preached before them "On the duties of the Ministerial Office."⁵

At the General Convention, which met in Philadelphia, June 20th to June 26th, 1786, there were four present from Delaware—Doctor Wharton, the Rev. Sydenham Thorne, Mr. Robert Clay, and Mr. Nicholas Ridgely. It was then determined by ballot that Wilmington

³*Sprague: Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, pp. 335-342.

⁴*Alfred Lee: Planting and Watering*, p. 29.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

should be the next meeting place.⁶ There was addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England an earnest application for the consecration to the episcopate of such qualified persons as should be recommended to them by the Church in the United States; and the Convention adjourned to meet in Wilmington, so as to receive the answer to this application and to proceed to the completion of the Church's organization.

Three months later a State Convention of the Delaware Church was held. In Bishop George Washington Doane's memoir of Doctor Wharton, we find the following:—

“There is in my possession the manuscript journal of a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Delaware, held in Dover, on the 26th and 27th days of September, 1786, at which Dr. Wharton was present and presided, and, as President, was authorized to sign the recommendation to the Archbishops and Bishops of England.”

Bishop Alfred Lee, in commenting on this statement, remarked that “we have, therefore, conclusive testimony as to the assemblage of the State Convention in 1786.”⁷

The adjourned meeting of the General Convention which met in Philadelphia in June, 1786, was held in Wilmington, October 10th of that year—the only General Convention which has ever met in Delaware. There were ten clerical and twelve lay deputies present⁸ being deputies from six states—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, and South Carolina. The Convention met in the Academy Hall, a building which stood on Market street between Eighth and Ninth, and which was later removed. The representatives attended service in the Old Swedes' Church, the sermon being preached by the Rev. Doctor Samuel Magaw, then rector of St. Paul's, Philadelphia, and formerly the incumbent of Dover. Delaware was represented by Doctor Wharton, the Rev. Sydenham Thorne, and Messrs. James Grantham and James Sykes.

This Convention took final action in regard to the correspondence with the English Archbishops, the forms of testimonials for those to be consecrated, and the objections made by the English Bishops to certain alterations in the Book of Common Prayer. The testimonials of Samuel Provoost, William White, and David Griffith, who were to seek Episcopal ordination, were signed.⁸

The year 1786 is famous in the annals of the Delaware Church for still another reason. It was then that the Swedish missionaries

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁷*Alfred Lee: Our Centenary. Tenth Charge of the Rt. Rev. Alfred Lee, p. 7.*

⁸*Alfred Lee: Planting and Watering, pp. 23-24.*

asked to be recalled to their mother country, and thus terminate the dependence of their congregations upon a supply of ministers from abroad. The last of those missionaries at Trinity Church, Wilmington, was the Rev. Mr. Gerelius, who did not give up his ministrations until 1790. He was succeeded by Doctor Wharton, who was the first Anglican incumbent of that parish and who ministered there about two years before going to New Jersey.⁹

In 1788, the Rev. Robert Clay became rector of Immanuel Church, New Castle. He was born October 18th, 1749; and in early life was connected with an eminent mercantile house in Philadelphia. Ordained by the newly consecrated Bishop White in 1787, he proved "a fine reader of the Church service, and entertained an unblemished reputation." He died in December, 1831.¹⁰

The General Convention of October, 1789, was one of considerable importance. Then Bishop Seabury and the New England deputies acceded to the Constitution and came into union with the Convention. The Delaware deputies present were the Rev. Joseph Coudens (who was rector of North Elk parish, Maryland, but also served a Church in Delaware),¹¹ the Rev. Robert Clay, the Rev. Stephen Sykes, and James Sykes, a layman.

From the foregoing it is evident that Delaware was one of the most prominent participants in the organization of the Episcopal Church in America. At every General Convention she was represented by men of influence. With the development of the Church as a force in national life, it is seen that the Church in the state itself was acquiring strength and resources.

The first Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of Delaware was held in Dover, on Saturday, the third day of December, 1791. The call came from the Rev. John Bissett, of St. Anne's Church, Appoquinimink, and the vestry of Christ Church, Dover, and took the form of a circular letter, inviting the members of the Church in the state "to convene, for the purpose of framing and enacting a constitution, and promoting good government among the congregations of their society." The following list appears in the *Journal*:—

"NEWCASTLE COUNTY.

St. Anne's Church:

Rev. John Bissett.

Hon. Joshua Clayton, Esq.

Emanuel Church:

Kensy Johns, Esq.

St. James's Church:

Thomas Duff, Esq.

"KENT COUNTY.

Christ Church, Dover:

Hon. James Sykes, Esq.

⁹Alfred Lee: *Our Centenary. Tenth Charge of the Rt. Rev. Alfred Lee*, p. 19.

¹⁰Sprague: *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, p. 357.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 312.

Christ Church, Mispillion:

Rev. Sydenham Thorne.

Jehu Davis, Esq.

"SUSSEX COUNTY.

Christ Church:

Rev. William Skelley.

Mr. Jonathan Waller.

St. Matthew's Church:

Isaac Beauchamp, Esq.

Prince George's Church:

Mr. Samuel Dirickson.

St. George's Church:

Mr. Woodman Stockley.

St. Mary's Chapel:

Mr. William Bradley.

St. Peter's Church:

Phillips Kollock, Esq."

The members assembled; and the Rev. Mr. Bissett read prayers. "The certificates of the lay delegates being read, and judged satisfactory, they took their seats." The Rev. Sydenham Thorne was elected President, and the Rev. Mr. Bissett, Secretary. A committee of six members, three clerical and three lay, were appointed to report a Constitution for the Church. Next morning, the Hon. Joshua Clayton reported the Constitution and Canons; and after being read twice and considered by paragraphs, the Constitution and Canons were approved. The Convention then proceeded to elect delegates to attend the next General Convention (which was called for New York, the following September). A standing committee, consisting of the Rev. Messrs. Thorne, Bissett, Clay, and Shelly, was appointed.¹² Bishop Lee has remarked that "this Convention compares favourably in members and efficiency with those that followed for some forty years."¹³

The Rev. John Bissett, who figured so prominently in this Convention, was born in Scotland about 1762. Having graduated at the University of Aberdeen, he came to this country and was ordained by Bishop Seabury in 1786. In 1789, he was rector of Shrewsbury Parish, Maryland; and was a member of the General Convention at Philadelphia that year. At the New York General Convention in 1792, he was elected its Secretary. Shortly afterwards, he became an assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York. For some years, during his connection with Trinity, he held the professorship of Rhetoric and the Belles Lettres in Columbia College. Disappointed in a love affair, he took to drink, and was compelled to resign. He returned to his native country; and was recognized afterwards on the streets of London as "pale and emaciated," with the appearance of "a broken down gentleman." He died about 1810.¹⁴

From the Journal of the Convention of 1792 we gain some idea of the strength of the Church in Delaware. The Rev. Joseph Clark-

¹²*Journal of the proceedings of a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of Delaware, held in Dover, on Saturday, the third day of December, 1791.*

¹³Alfred Lee: *Planting and Watering*, p. 48.

¹⁴Sprague: *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, p. 443.

son (1766-1830) had become rector of Trinity Church, Wilmington (the Old Swedes' Church); and he reported 500 adult members. Christ Church, Sussex, reported 476 adults and 109 communicants; St. Peter's Church reported 186 adults; and St. George's Church, 200.¹⁵

The Convention called for Dover in September, 1793, was not held because "of the UNCOMMON sickliness of the season, and other unavoidable concurring circumstances." But on December 16th, 1794, the members convened at Dover; and the Rev. Mr. Clarkson was elected President. At this Convention there was a report of 63 confirmations by Bishop White of Pennsylvania, at Trinity Church, Wilmington—the first recorded confirmations in Delaware. A Canon was adopted, as follows:—

"Whereas the deportment of its ministers has a powerful influence upon the Church—Therefore, the practice of playing at cards, or dice tables—the practice of frequenting ball-rooms, or any assemblies convened for vicious or unseemly diversions, is prohibited, as degrading the clerical profession."¹⁶

All the State Conventions were held at Dover until 1796, when a Convention was held in Lewis-Town, May 3rd. The clerical and lay delegates assembled in St. Peter's Church; and divine service was performed by the Rev. William Pryce, of Christ Church, Mispillion. The Rev. George Dashiell, of St. Anne's Church, Appoquinimink, preached the sermon. As usual, the various churches were asked to report the number of adult members, the baptisms, marriages, and funerals, as well as communicants; and there was the same inability to give accurate figures which marked the earlier assemblies. Trinity Church, Wilmington, continued to report 500 adults.¹⁷

The Convention of 1797 was held at Middle-Town, in St. Anne's Church. A committee was appointed "to receive all moneys collected from the different Churches in this State—to be appropriated towards the support of missionaries to preach the gospel—and to defray incidental expenses." It was resolved also that "a respectful address be drawn up by the standing committee, and presented to the Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the State of Penn-

¹⁵*Journal of the proceedings of the Second Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the state of Delaware, held in Dover, on Tuesday, the eighteenth day of December, 1792.*

¹⁶*Journal of the proceedings of the Fourth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the state of Delaware, held in Dover, on Tuesday, the sixteenth day of December, 1794.*

¹⁷*Journal of the proceedings of the Sixth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the state of Delaware, held in Lewis-Town, on Tuesday, the third day of May, 1796.*

sylvania, requesting him to visit this State, for the purpose of administering the Apostolic rite of confirmation among the different congregations."¹⁸

At the tenth Convention, held in Dover, May 6th, 1800, only four clergymen were present; the requisition for "defraying the expenses of delegates to the General Convention and incidental charges," which had been a regular assessment since 1796, brought in no more than \$16. It was voted to reduce the assessment on each vestry from \$8 to \$4. The article of the Constitution, requiring the standing committee to consist of four regularly settled and officiating clergymen, was discussed as presenting "an insurmountable difficulty"; and it was proposed that the next Convention should change the membership of that body to two.

The Journals of the next few years present a forlorn picture. Sometimes no more than three clergymen were in attendance; and one year there was left the sum of \$8 in the treasury after paying the expenses of the delegates and printing the Journal. Efforts to broaden the work were recorded in 1802, when it was resolved "that it shall be the duty of the Clergy in this church, to visit and preach in such vacant churches as may be in their respective counties, on the first Friday in every month"; and "that it be recommended to the different congregations, who are not regularly supplied with a minister, to meet, on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, and appoint some proper person or persons, to perform divine service, and read a sermon from some approved author."¹⁹

At the Convention of 1803, the Rev. William Pryce was appointed to attend the next Convention of the Diocese of Maryland and propose, "if deemed expedient by that Convention, that we cheerfully join and associate with the same, for the purpose of electing a Bishop for the Eastern Shore of Maryland and the State of Delaware."²⁰ The Rt. Rev. Thomas John Claggett (1742-1816) was at that time Bishop of Maryland, having been consecrated the 17th of September, 1792, by Bishop Provoost of New York, Bishop White of Pennsylvania, Bishop Madison of Virginia, and Bishop Seabury of Connecticut; and being the first Bishop consecrated on American soil. The following year (1804), Mr. Pryce reported that he had attended the Maryland Convention as instructed, and had been received with attention and politeness; but that the said Convention "deemed a

¹⁸*Journal of the proceedings of the Seventh Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the state of Delaware, held at Middle-Town on Tuesday, the second day of May, 1797.*

¹⁹*Journal of the proceedings of the Twelfth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the state of Delaware, held in Lewes-Town on the first Tuesday in May, A. D. 1802.*

²⁰*Alfred Lee: Planting and Watering, p. 28.*

union of the two Dioceses at this time premature and inexpedient." Bishop Claggett had promised, however, to visit the congregations of Delaware as often as his extensive duties and infirm health would permit. The Convention of Delaware forthwith proceeded to put their Diocese under the charge of Bishop Claggett. Bishop Lee notes that he has not found any record of episcopal acts performed by Bishop Claggett in consequence of this step.²¹ There is reason to believe that he once held confirmations at St. Paul's Church, Black Swamp.

The Church seemed steadily to decline for the next few years. No conventions assembled from 1811 to 1816. In 1814, there were two Delaware deputies at the General Convention—the Rev. Messrs. Pryce and Clay. They reported that "the condition of the Church in this State is truly distressing and the prospect gloomy. There is, however, an increasing anxiety manifested for obtaining clergymen. Some of the vacant congregations have the service performed on Sundays by laymen. Where the Lord's Supper has been administered by visiting clergymen, the communicants have been numerous."²² At the General Convention of 1817, there was still small evidence of improvement in Delaware. Only one clerical deputy attended—the Rev. William Wickes; there was no layman. The report was rather forlorn: "There are the remains of eleven congregations, but only two of them are supplied with ministers." Yet within the last eighteen months, it was said, four young men "of piety and talent" had been admitted as candidates for orders; furthermore, an Episcopal Missionary Society had been established at Wilmington.²³

There was a Convention of the State of Delaware held in 1818; and the delegates passed a resolution "highly disapproving of theatres, public balls, gaming, and every species of dissipation," and urging members of the Church "to avoid indulging in the use of vinous or spirituous liquors."²⁴

Two clerical and two lay deputies attended the General Convention of 1820, which was held in Philadelphia. At that time the tone of the Delaware report was more encouraging. "Several churches had been repaired and had received considerable additions of families and communicants. There are 14 churches, most of which have regular services, and those not thus favoured are visited occasionally by the clergy of the State. The Conventions have been better attended. On the whole we have great reason to be thankful." Yet, on the other hand, there were only four officiating clergymen and about two hundred communicants.²⁵

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 28.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 25.

²³*Ibid.*, pp. 25, 26.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 28.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 26.

Only two clergymen and eleven laymen were present at the Convention at Dover, June 7th, 1823. The Rev. Daniel Higbee, "minister of St. Paul's Church, Georgetown; St. George's Chapel; St. Peter's Church, Lewes; Prince George's Church; Christ Church, Laurel; and St. John's Church," preached the convention sermon. The Rev. Ralph Williston, "minister of the congregation at Wilmington," reported that during the year he had:—

"Holy Communion.....	18	
Baptised, adults.....	4	
children.....	7	
Joined in Holy Matrimony.....	9	couple (sic)
There are communicants, about.....	200	
And in the Sunday schools there are....	—	boys
and	120	girls."

“Although nothing of very remarkable occurrence can be noted in this report, as having a bearing on the interests of Trinity congregation; yet it is proper to remark that brotherly love has prevailed and continually influenced both the pastor and people, and they have dwelt together, aiming at the glory of the *God of peace*, with peace and cordiality. The regularity and apparent piety with which the Holy Sacrament has been approached by the communicants has been a source of heartfelt satisfaction to their Rector—most of the seasons of communion have been peculiarly solemn, and demand the renewed expression of our gratitude and praise for the Divine favour which has attended those occasions.”

He proceeded to review his work, and showed that he had been something of a diocesan missionary himself.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 29.

variably, performed service, and preached three times on every Sunday, and three times, statedly, during the week. Sunday morning in Trinity Church, at three P. M. in Emanuel Church, Newcastle, and at night in the borough of Wilmington—on Tuesday night at Newcastle, and on Wednesday and Friday nights in Wilmington—besides, occasionally, at Brandywine and at several neighbouring school houses. He has visited, performed Divine service, and preached twice at St. James' Church, where he has found a numerous, respectable and attentative (sic) congregation. This congregation has erected a new, commodious stone church, which will soon be ready for consecration—Emanuel Church has been consecrated by the right reverend Bishop Kemp, and the reverend Mr. Bedell, all of whom preached on the occasion. Divine service is performed, and the Holy Sacraments duly administered in this church—and the expectation is entertained of the growing prosperity of its congregation. Great harmony subsists between the several congregations of Newcastle, all agreeing to *let brotherly love continue.*"

Mr. Williston paid a high tribute to the Rev. Robert Clay, rector of Immanuel Church, Newcastle, and St. James's, Staunton. "It must be truly gratifying to the reverend gentleman, now advanced in years, to witness the flattering prospects of a church over which he has presided *many years*. Altho' he may have only *sowed and another shall reap*; yet, he that sowed and he that reapeth, may both rejoice together, hereafter, in the kingdom of God. The foundation is laid to produce inestimable advantages to the careless, the ignorant, the vicious; to teach them to seek for solid, perfect, and eternal happiness; to reclaim many a wanderer from the ways of folly, and crime, and shame, and destruction; to render them acquainted with a Saviour who has boundless love and power; and to guide them in the *narrow way*, which leadeth unto life."

The progress of the Sunday-school was noted by Mr. Williston. This feature of parish activity was still in its experimental stage, and many churches looked on it with indifference. In Delaware, however, "much praise is due to the ladies and gentlemen who have the management of the Sundry (sic) schools. This is an institution which cannot receive too great attention and aid. The good done in these schools is incalculable."

In closing his remarks, Mr. Williston observed that "when we survey the state and condition of our church in this diocess there are many circumstances which are calculated to excite gloomy apprehensions"; but he trusted in the Lord's promise to be with His Church always. "Future ages will rejoice over our labours, when our Zion shall be the praise of our land. Life is short—and no one knows, when

the Lord will call him to account. Let us then, as faithful stewards, employ the talents entrusted to us, that, when we depart hence, we may take with us the cheering assurance of having employed the means, which God has granted us, toward rearing a more pious, more virtuous, and more happy generation, to occupy our places in his church."

The Rev. Mr. Higbee reported that he still confined his attention to the churches in Sussex county; and he submitted the following statistics.

St. Paul's Church, Georgetown:

Families, about.....	20 or 25
Communicants.....	10
Baptisms.....	2

Prince George's Church, Dagsborough:

Families, about.....	40
Communicants, about...	20
Baptisms.....	5
Funerals.....	1

St. George's Chapel:

Families, about.....	30
Communicants.....	25 or 30
Baptisms.....	7
Funerals.....	3
Marriages.....	1

Christ Church, Laurel:

Families, about.....	50
Communicants, about...	15 or 20
Baptisms.....	10
Marriages.....	1

St. Peter's Church, Lewestown:

Families, about.....	25 or 30
Communicants.....	20
Baptisms.....	1
Funerals.....	1
Marriages.....	1

St. John's Church, Little-Hill:

Families, about.....	20
Communicants.....	10
Baptisms.....	10
Funerals.....	2

Mr. Higbee said "that there is no apparent change since the meeting of the last Convention. A surprising indifference as to the welfare of our Church too generally prevails in the congregations; but still there are some members in the churches, who manifest a laudable zeal for the institutions of our venerable and Apostolic Church."

A committee recommended the adoption of a constitution for "the missionary society of the diocese of Delaware, auxiliary to the domestic and foreign missionary society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." The object of the Delaware society was "to employ and support missionaries, and to supply with Christian ordinances, such places within the diocese as may be destitute of a regular ministry; and the surplus, if any, funds shall be transmitted to the parent society, to be applied to domestic missions." The Rev. Mr. Williston submitted an address, expressing great satisfaction at the formation of this auxiliary missionary society. "Henceforth," he said, "our diocese will not be a stranger to that great and all important association, whose object is to aid in evangelizing the whole human family—Our diocese has become auxiliary to that institution

with great eagerness. And it is hoped, that our opulent families will duly feel that they cannot make a better use of their money, than by generous donations, to contribute towards the promulgation of the Holy Gospel, and due administration of the Holy Sacraments.”²⁷

At the 1824 diocesan Convention, held in Christ Church, Dover the Rev. Stephen Wilson Presstman was present. He served as rector of Immanuel Church, Newcastle, from 1824 to 1843. The Rev. Mr. Williston reported his visits to Middletown, Smyrna, Dover, Georgetown, Cedar Creek, and Milford, in his capacity as a member of the standing committee. The consecration of St. James's Church, Staunton, by Bishop White of Pennsylvania, was noted; also the resignation of the Rev. Robert Clay, who had seen the two churches under his pastoral care “rebuilt and ornamented, and thus happily provided with a successor.” It was observed that “the prospects of the Episcopal church in the county of Newcastle are, on the whole, encouraging. The churches are well attended; and, it is trusted, there is an increased attention to religion.” It was intimated that the loose conversation of professed Christians was discrediting religion and obstructing the growth of the Church. A canon was adopted, making it the duty of each resident officiating minister “to cause collections to be made in aid of the Missionary Fund, at least twice in every year”; the sum collected to be paid to the Treasurer of the Missionary Society.

At the same time, the newly formed auxiliary Missionary Society held its meeting in Christ Church, Dover. The following churches were designated as missionary stations, to be aided by the Society—Milford and Cedar Creek; Lewestown, Georgetown, and St. George's Chapel, Laurel, Little-Hill, and Dagsborough; and St. Ann's Church, Middletown. At this, the anniversary meeting, the Board of Directors included a stirring appeal in their report; and called on every parish “destitute of stated ministrations” to rally and ascertain what might be done toward the support of a pastor and make an annual statement of the same to the Board, which would, if possible, “make up the deficiency, until every parish shall be supplied with a regular pastor.” The Rev. Mr. Williston, President of the Society, said:—

“True it is that our church in this State presents a widespread desolation and famine. These render our exertions the more necessary. There must be a series of acts; a trial

²⁷*Journal of a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of Delaware, held at Dover, in June, 1823.* (The date of the consecration of Immanuel Church, New Castle, by Bishop White of Pennsylvania and Bishop Kemp of Maryland, was Tuesday, October 29, 1822.)

of perseverance—And we should crowd as many acts and as much effect as possible into the space of every year.”²⁸

At the Convention which met at New Castle, August 13th, 1825, the Rev. Daniel Higbee, minister of St. Paul's Church, Georgetown; St. Peter's, Lewestown; and St. George's Chapel, reported that “these Congregations continue much in the same state they have been in for some years past. Some due regard is paid to the ceremonies and external ordinances of our venerable church; but at the same time it is most evident that the religion of Jesus Christ has lost its commanding influence over the hearts and lives of too many amongst us:—we ‘have a name to live and yet are dead.’ ” The Rev. Mr. Presstman, of New Castle and Staunton, said that his congregations were “regular in their attendance upon divine service; giving ear to the word of God with such seriousness, as encourages the hope that the day of their visitation draweth nigh. There has been a gradual increase in both congregations.” The Rev. Mr. Williston, of Trinity, Wilmington, seemed discouraged “The disabilities under which we labor,” he said, “are peculiarly great and discouraging. An old Church, in bad condition, at a distance from the Borough, and of difficult access for a great part of the year—together with unsuccessful efforts repeatedly made to obtain a Church within the Borough—are obstacles in the way of our prosperity, truly appalling.”

At the request of the standing committee Bishop White had performed the necessary episcopal duties in the diocese of Delaware. When the Rt. Rev. Henry Ustick Onderdonk was consecrated Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania, October 25th, 1827, Doctor White was more than seventy-nine years old. Bishop Onderdonk was deputed to visit Delaware; and at the 1829 Convention he reported his visitation to the lower part of the state.

“On the 16th of March (1829) I entered your state from the lower part of the Eastern Shore of Maryland; on the 17th I visited and preached in Prince George's Church, Dagsborough, in the morning, St. John's, Little Hill, afternoon; on the 18th, Christ Church, Laurel, morning, St. Paul's Church, Georgetown, evening; on the 19th, St. Paul's, Georgetown, morning, St. George's Chapel, afternoon, St. Peter's, Lewes, evening; on the 20th, St. Peter's, Lewes; on the 21st, Dover, evening; on Sunday, 22d, Dover, morning, St. Peter's, Smyrna, evening; on the 23d, Emanuel Church, Newcastle, evening.

“On Sunday, May 31, I visited and preached in Trinity Church, Wilmington, in the morning; and in the place temporarily occupied for worship in town by that congrega-

²⁸*Journal of a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of Delaware, held at Dover, June 5, 1824.*

tion, in the afternoon. In the evening of the same day I preached to the new Episcopal Congregation, formed last year in that Borough, by the name of St. Andrew's Church. The following confirmations have been held, viz.—Dagsborough, 1 person; Laurel, 4 persons; Georgetown, 5; Lewes, 17. The above were the first administrations of this rite in the County of Sussex. In Trinity Church, Wilmington, 20 persons were confirmed. The congregation of St. Andrew's, Wilmington, are erecting a church, and Trinity Church is about erecting an additional place of worship in the town. By request of the vestries, respectively, I consecrated, in March last, the following churches—Christ Church, Laurel; St. George's Chapel, and St. Peter's Church, Lewes; all in Sussex County. In the course of these visits I have twice administered the rite of baptism. I have everywhere been again received with the most respectful attention and kind hospitality, which I take this opportunity of gratefully recording."²⁹

The Rev. Isaac Pardee, who had entered on his duties as rector of Trinity Church, Wilmington, September 25th, 1828, was present at the Convention, and made an encouraging report.

"From the commencement of the present Rector's labors it has been a source of great gratification to see the congregation constantly increasing in numbers. It has now become large and is in a very prosperous state. This society has, however, experienced no small disadvantage from the location of their church. It is some distance from the Town, and at some seasons of the year scarcely accessible. The congregations have, however, resolved to remedy the difficulty by the erection of a commodious building in the Town. For their liberality and zeal in the prosecution of this measure they deserve great credit. The building is to be commenced immediately. The Sunday school which has long been attached to this church is now large and very prosperous. The Rector has, when other Parochial duties did not interfere, attended the school, and has occasionally instructed the children in the catechism of the church. There has also been a bible class during the past winter attached to this church. The members have been numerous and attentive, and the class proves highly beneficial."³⁰

On June 12th, 1830, the Convention met at St. Peter's Church, Smyrna. It was the first Delaware convention at which a Bishop was present. Bishop Henry U. Onderdonk took the chair. After the roll call, a communication was read from Bishop White. "If it should

²⁹*Journal of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Delaware, held at New Castle, August 13, 1825.*

³⁰*Journal of a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the state of Delaware, commenced and held at Dover, June 6, 1829.*

be recollected," he said, "that during a course of forty three years I have complied with every desire made known to me for the performance of any Episcopal Service in your State, I trust I shall not be charged with the want of regard for the Church in Delaware, when I suggest that for any present or future duties of this sort as for the like in Pennsylvania beyond the vicinity of this city (Philadelphia), it will not be unreasonable for me to devolve them on my Rt. Rev. Brother, the Assistant Bishop of this Diocese, who contemplates presiding in your ensuing Convention, and for whom provision has been made with a severance from parochial connexion. My late time of life, and the parochial duties still lying on me, will I trust be my excuse for my thus limiting of my discharge of Episcopal duties in future." He closed with his best wishes and prayers for the prosperity of the Church in Delaware. In a postscript, he said that on the 1st of October last he "consecrated to the service of God, St. Andrew's Church, in the Borough of Wilmington."

Bishop Onderdonk delivered his address. He told of his official acts, namely, consecrating Trinity Chapel in the Borough of Wilmington (April 6th, 1830); and visiting New Castle, Staunton, Wilmington, Smyrna, and Middletown. He concluded with an appeal for diocesan missions. The clergy list of 1830 shows six names. Fifteen churches and chapels are listed.³¹

The Convention of 1832 was presided over by Bishop White; it was the only occasion on which that venerable man officiated at a Delaware convention. Bishop Onderdonk was then visiting a remote district of Pennsylvania; but he forwarded a report of his third visitation to Delaware, showing that he had confirmed thirty-seven.³²

Bishop Onderdonk presided over the Convention of 1834; and delivered a charge to the clergy, under the title "Less and Greater Duties." The Bishop reported quite a number of confirmations in Sussex county; and said that the Rev. Joseph Glover had entered upon his labours as a missionary at Seaford, Laurel, and vicinity. This was the first appointment of a missionary in Delaware since the abandonment of the field by the S. P. G. Mr. Glover promised good results; but he died August 19th, 1834, and was unable to fulfil his plans. He was buried in the churchyard at Seaford.³³

On the 27th of April, 1835, Bishop Onderdonk ordained a priest in St. Andrew's Church, Wilmington—the Rev. William C. Russell, rector of that Church.³⁴ We know of no earlier ordination in Dela-

³¹*Journal of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Delaware, held at St. Peter's Church, Smyrna, Saturday, June 12, 1830.*

³²*Alfred Lee: Planting and Watering, pp. 29-30.*

³³*Ibid., p. 30.*

³⁴*Ibid., p. 30.*

ware. The Convention of that year was held at Immanuel Church, New Castle, June 6th. The evidence of progress is apparent. In 1835, there were seven clergymen officiating in the state. Several changes had taken place. The Rev. Hiram Adams had succeeded Mr. Pardee as rector of Trinity Church, Wilmington. The Rev. Corry Chambers had take the late Mr. Glover's place, as missionary in Sussex county.

The new rector of St. Andrew's, Wilmington, reported that there were about forty families connected with that Church. "The Monthly Missionary Concert of prayer is held on the first Monday evening in the month, and the congregation much interested on the subject of missions." There were 93 registered communicants; and, since April, there were twenty-one individuals confirmed. "A Parochial Library has within a short time been formed, it now contains about 100 volumes of practical works, which will be a matter of interest and profit to the congregation. The Sunday School is a very interesting department of the Pastor's labours, it is under his entire control, and he devotes the whole of Sunday afternoon to its superintendence. There are 25 teachers, male and female, and 260 scholars on the register; about 150 to 175 of that number attend every Sunday. There are 370 volumes in the S. S. Library. The exercises of the School close at 3 o'clock, when the exercises of the Children's Church commences, which continue about one hour; the scholars of the Sunday and Infant school, and the Bible Class meet in the Lecture Room and form the congregation of the establishment, the exercises are adapted to the children and they are much interested in them. . . . Lectures are occasionally given to the children during the week, on Scriptural subjects, when nearly every scholar has been present, with many of their parents and others. The Sunday School Missionary Society will contribute about \$60 this year to Foreign Missions."³⁵

Bishop Onderdonk presided at the next Convention, which was held in St. Peter's Church, Lewes, June 4th, 1836. He reported that on the 26th of January, he had consecrated Christ Church, Milford. "This edifice, after remaining unfinished nearly half a century, has been handsomely remodelled and completed; and the congregation, after a long period of prostration, and, almost, indeed, of dissolution, has sprung into fresh existence and vigour, respectable in numbers, and zealous and persevering in character. The whole change in this parish reflects credit on their indefatigable minister, the Rev. Corry Chambers, and his able and efficient coadjutors among the laity." The Bishop took this opportunity to commend the Missionary So-

³⁵*Journal of the proceedings of the Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of Delaware, 1835.*

ciety, as persevering in its very useful labours and worthy of the most zealous affection and patronage. "It has already been the instrument, under God, of the resuscitation or improvement of five of the southern parishes, and has the prospect of doing more for them and for the diocese." He stated that "a building has been purchased, near the northern line of the State, which is to be appropriated to the worship of God, under the name of Grace Church. And a subscription has been made which justifies the hope that an Episcopal House of Worship will be erected at Seaford."

The Rev. Mr. Chambers, missionary for the Society, gave a report of his activities. He had officiated at Christ Church, Broad Creek, where the congregation was "sincerely attached to the church, and regular in attendance, except in winter, when a want of stoves, &c., renders it almost impossible to occupy the building. He said that he had organized St. Luke's Church, Seaford, last year; "the old churches in this neighbourhood having long since gone to ruin, viz: that of Johnstown and Chapel Branch." At present, divine worship was being held in a "meeting house, built on the Union plan"; and since the church was organized, there had been three children baptized, seventeen communicants added, and eight confirmed. The attendance was very regular, "though many come seven or ten miles"; and thus, "though the old buildings have long since disappeared in this neighbourhood, yet a remnant of the congregations still can be found, who have lived through the winter of her ages, and rejoice to see her once more revive. I hope," he added, "the liberality of our friends not only in Delaware, but also in the other States of the Union, will contribute their mite to build a new church, and, like the good Samaritan, bind up her wounds."

Of St. Matthew's Church, Cedar Creek, Mr. Chambers said:—

"This church is about five miles from Milford, and was in the uninterrupted possession of swallows and wild birds to build their nests in, without a pane of glass in the windows, when I arrived last year; neither could I find one in the surrounding neighbourhood who knew the name of the church, save *the Old Church at Cedar Creek*. I at length found the name in an old Conventional report at Milford. This church has been repaired, and consecrated by the Right Reverend Bishop Onderdonk, on the 29th ulto." (May 29th).

He had gathered a congregation of about eighteen there; but he felt that their continuance depended on constant preaching, and that the flock, without a shepherd, would undoubtedly wander.

Mr. Chambers told of his arrival at Milford, in May, 1835, when he did not find six persons who would even call themselves Episco-

paliars; and when he introduced himself as recommended by his Bishop and the Diocesan Missionary Society, "so completely had the old congregation disappeared, that few could be found to whom (he) would be recommended on such an errand." The Church of Milford, forty years unfinished, might be called, in the literal sense, "a cage for every unclean bird."

"This being the widest breach in the walls of our Zion, in it I determined to stand, and with God's assistance, build it up—knowing that we can do all things, Christ assisting us. I therefore commenced my work commending myself and my cause unto Him. From this place I attended my other churches, on the appointed day of preaching; but, resolved to build and restore Christ Church, during the time I was discharged from the others; I, therefore, commenced a subscription at Lewes, Dover, Smyrna, New Castle and Wilmington, to inspire my new friends at Milford with courage, that our christian friends abroad would render them some assistance—this had, in a great measure, the desired effect, and I succeeded in finishing the church at nearly twelve hundred dollars expense, about three hundred dollars of which, I have yet to seek from the liberal and benevolent friends of our church."

From this small beginning, Mr. Chambers could now count at Milford "forty families of constant worshippers, comprehending 105 adults and 59 children." He had a Sunday school there, of 18 teachers and 113 scholars.³⁶

At the 1837 Convention, held in Christ Church, Milford, June 3rd, Bishop Onderdonk spoke of the death of Bishop White (July 17th, 1836)—"the venerable father in Christ who for several years had been the ecclesiastical head of this diocese. Although this honour and charge were conferred on him at a very advanced period of his life, when his infirmities disabled him from much active duty, he performed for you some offices of this kind; besides giving you the general superintendence that required no personal labour. He has left to our whole church the legacy of a bright example; and it behoves us all to emulate his virtues in private life, his piety as a Christian, and his fidelity in all his public relations."

Bishop Onderdonk reported having consecrated Grace Church, Brandywine Hundred, June 11th, 1837. "This is a small building, formerly used as a school-house, but now neatly fitted and arranged for our services."

Being unable, on account of the stormy weather, to discharge

³⁶*Journal of the proceedings of the Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Delaware, held in St. Peter's Church, Lewes, Saturday, June 4, 1836.*

his Episcopal functions in some of the parishes, he had requested the Rt. Rev. William Murray Stone (1779-1838), Bishop of Maryland, to visit the field covered by the Rev. Mr. Chambers. Bishop Stone had thereupon visited Laurel and Seaford, confirming 17 persons at the former place and four at the latter.

At this Convention, it was reported that the Rev. William C. Russell had resigned the rectorship of St. Andrew's, Wilmington, on account of ill health; and that the Rev. Charles E. Pleasants had resigned the charge of Lewes, Georgetown, Dagsborough, and St. George's Chapel.

The Rev. Mr. Chambers' report to the 1837 Convention was very interesting and encouraging. He told of his efforts to raise money to carry on his work and to relieve the congregations of debt; he spoke of the Sunday school he had started in the town of Laurel, and of the Church at Cedar Creek, "left open to every abuse." St. John's Church, Little Hill, was used only for Saturday services in summer.

"This church was built, as far as it now is, by the pious efforts of the Rev. Hamilton Bell, of Laurel, who was called from his earthly duties more than twenty-six years ago; and was designed for the accommodation of those in the neighborhood of the Cyprus Swamp, none of whom are even moderately wealthy; the church remained since that time without either windows or pews, having window shutters to defend it from the storm. The surrounding country is extremely unhealthy in the fall, even to those who are acclimated, and therefore offers no inducement for wealthy people to settle in it. There are upwards of forty families who would attach themselves to this church."

Christ Church, Dover, the scene of so many of the early conventions, had at this time become a missionary station, with an appropriated salary from the Domestic Missionary Society of \$250. Mr. Chambers felt that the congregation should subscribe an equally large sum before a missionary could be expected; and he had started raising subscriptions for that purpose. "The church of Dover is 130 years old, not much out of repair, the rent of a small glebe has generally met these expenses."

Of St. Paul's Church, Black Swamp, Mr. Chambers said:—

" . . . Probably one of the first churches in Delaware, where Episcopal acts were performed; the Right Rev. Bishop Claggett, I am informed, having once held a confirmation here, when visiting the neighboring parishes on the Eastern shore of Maryland. This church is now in ruins, but the zealous missionary will soon overcome these difficulties, im-

pressed with an assurance *that in his short journey through life, if his footsteps are traced by the congregations he has revived and the churches he has built*, he transmits to posterity a more lasting monument of his fame than he who conquers an Empire."³⁷

The forty-eighth annual Convention was held in St. Ann's Church, Middletown, on Wednesday, the 30th of May, 1838. Eight clergymen appeared on the roster, and fourteen churches were represented by lay delegates. Bishop Onderdonk presided. As evidence of progress, he told of two candidates for Holy Orders within the diocese, and of the supplying of certain vacant churches. The death of the Rev. William C. Russell, formerly of St. Andrew's, Wilmington, was noted with sorrow; he had died October 12th, 1837, "at an early stage of a most promising career of pastoral usefulness; leaving a good name, worthy to be had in remembrance." The death of Bishop Stone, Maryland (February 26th, 1838), was recorded with deep regret. "He formerly had charge, for many years, of some of the parishes in the lower part of this diocese," said Bishop Onderdonk; and in two of them he administered confirmation in 1836.

On the second day of the Convention, May 31st, Bishop Onderdonk ordained three deacons to the priesthood: the Rev. John Linn McKim, who was officiating at Lewes, Georgetown, St. George's, Indian River, and Dagsborough; the Rev. William Nelson Pendleton, professor of the college at Newark, of which another Episcopal clergyman, the Rev. Richard Mason, D. D., was president; and the Rev. William James Clark, the new incumbent of St. Andrew's, Wilmington.

The Rev. Mr. Clark reported that he had assumed charge of St. Andrew's, September 3rd, 1837. "Few churches have had greater obstacles to contend with, and few have been blessed more fully in proportion to their difficulties. Commenced under auspices decidedly unfavourable, their building, it was at one time feared, must be abandoned; but God graciously interposed in our behalf, and we have taken our stand among our sister churches in a holy emulation to glorify our God and Saviour. . . . A new and larger organ has been completed, and will be erected this week. The citizens of Wilmington, without any religious distinction, have proposed the erection of a steeple, 150 feet elevation, to be attached to St. Andrew's, as occupying the highest point of ground. The amount at present subscribed is about \$1,200; the probable cost at about \$3,000 or \$4,000. Thos. U. Walters, the architect of the Girard College, has

³⁷*Journal of the proceedings of the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, of the Diocese of Delaware, held in Christ's Church, Milford, on Saturday, the 3d of June, 1837.*

prepared us a beautiful and chaste design. Should this valuable addition be erected, the church will be enlarged 20 or 25 feet; a measure that would seem to be called for by the crowded state of our congregation. One of the finest of the Spanish bells, lately imported into New York, has been purchased at an expense of \$230, and suspended temporarily in the churchyard. The services on Sunday are well attended, and more attentive congregations the Rector has never seen. The increase in the number of young men is very great. Little fruit at present appears of his labors. The additions have been few, and they chiefly from among the young."

Mr. Clark also submitted an account of Grace Church, New Castle County, in which he expressed his gratification "that this humble attempt to build up an Episcopal congregation in a section where our Service has seldom been used, has met with decided success. It was originally a small school-house, but by the zealous efforts of one or two friends of the Church it was fitted up as an Episcopal church in miniature, and consecrated by Bishop Onderdonk. The building is so crowded on Sunday, that it is entirely too small to accommodate the congregation."

The Rev. Corry Chambers, the diocesan missionary, reported nearly fifty families at Christ's Church, Broad Creek. A Sunday school had been started at Laurel and left under the care of a candidate for Holy Orders there, but some of the people objected to the name of the school; so he withdrew from it, and there was no Sunday school of any kind in that place. Services were still held in a union meeting-house at Seaford; but construction is going forward on the new church. At Milford, the church, on the whole, has "a more lasting foundation" than hitherto; "several of those families that have joined are respectable farmers near town, so that she is 'lengthening her cords, and strengthening her stakes.'"

At the diocesan Convention of 1839, the Rev. Mr. Presstman presented to Bishop Onderdonk "a piece of plate as a memento of his long, diligent, and successful labours in this Diocese, and as an expression of the gratitude of the Protestant Episcopal church in Delaware."³⁸

It was noted in the report that St. Luke's building still "remained unfinished, after liberal and strenuous efforts to complete it, and after disappointment in what was deemed a most promising attempt to collect the requisite funds." There were some further changes in the staff of clergy. The Rev. John W. McCullough, deacon of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, had been transferred to Dela-

³⁸*Journal of the proceedings of the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, of the Diocese of Delaware, held in St. Ann's Church, Middletown, on Wednesday, the 20th of May, 1838.*

were September 12th, 1838, and had become rector of Trinity Church, Wilmington. On the 3rd of December, Bishop Onderdonk ordained him priest in Trinity Chapel. The Rev. William J. Clark had resigned the rectorship of St. Andrew's, Wilmington; he was succeeded by the Rev. John V. Thorn, also transferred from the Diocese of Pennsylvania. The faithful rural missionary, the Rev. Corry Chambers, had moved to the Diocese of Maryland. The Rev. Archibald T. K. McCallum, deacon, was chosen minister of Grace Church, Brandywine Hundred, March 3rd. The Rev. John L. McKim, of Lewes, Georgetown, St. George's, and Dagsborough, had been transferred to Pennsylvania. The day of the Convention the Bishop was informed that the Rev. Mr. Thorn had resigned St. Andrew's, Wilmington. The lower half of the Diocese was entirely without clergymen; and the Bishop declared that "this fact may require greater vigour in your missionary operations; as it certainly requires our fervent intercessions to the divine Head of the church."

There were signs of friction among the clergy. In April, the Bishop had visited the Diocese because the Rev. Mr. Thorn and six communicants of St. Andrew's Church had made a presentment against the Rev. Mr. McCullough, of Trinity, Wilmington. After deliberation, the standing committee, on the Bishop's advice, dismissed the presentment for insufficiency. The Bishop ruled that no clergyman residing in a parish should be presented by the vestry or communicants of another parish. Next month, the vestry of Trinity Church preferred charges against the Rev. Mr. Thorn, of St. Andrew's, Wilmington, based on public rumor. Thereupon Bishop Onderdonk appointed a board of inquiry.³⁹ The charges were evidently dismissed, as Mr. Thorn remained on the clergy list for several years afterward.

At the next Convention, held at Milford, May 27th, 1840, there were eight clergymen present, besides Bishop Onderdonk, and seventeen laymen. The Rev. John Reynolds had been transferred from the Diocese of Pennsylvania, and was put in charge of Christ Church, Milford, and St. Matthew's Church, Cedar Creek. The Rev. Corry Chambers, formerly diocesan missionary, had returned to Delaware, and was rector of St. James Church, Staunton. The Rev. Henry F. M. Whitesides, of Pennsylvania, had become rector of St. Peter's Church, Lewes, and St. George's Chapel, Sussex County. The Rev. Erastus B. Foot had officiated at Milford a short while and had become adjunct Professor of Languages in Newark College. The Rev. Samuel G. Callahan, whom Bishop Onderdonk ordained to the

³⁹*Journal of the proceedings of the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, of the Diocese of Delaware, held at Seaford, Wednesday, the 29th of May, 1839.*

diaconate in Immanuel Church, New Castle, November 3rd, 1839, was put in charge of Seaford. The Rev. William H. Trapnell, from Maryland, was rector of St. Andrew's Church, Wilmington. On the 25th of January, 1840, that church had been destroyed by fire; the edifice and the beautiful new tower and spire were burned. But "after this lamentable event the congregation opened with zeal, a subscription for rebuilding it," and a new edifice was in progress at the time of the Convention.

The report of St. Andrew's, Wilmington, revealed an optimistic outlook in the face of the recent disaster. "We are happy to state, however, that through the indefatigable exertions of the congregation, and the prompt assistance of our friends, another, and a much superior church edifice is now in rapid progress, and will, when completed, be one of the most comfortable and convenient churches in the state. The building is eighty feet long, by forty-eight wide, in addition to which there is a recess for the pulpit five feet deep; our design is to erect a steeple one hundred and fifty feet high, sixty feet of which will be of masonry. We expect to have our temple ready for consecration some time in November next."⁴⁰

The Convention of 1841 deservedly ranks among the most important conventions in the history of the Delaware Church. For more than half a century there had been no resident bishop in the state; and although bishops from nearby had generously assisted the struggling church and Bishop Onderdonk, in particular, had given freely and systematically of his time, there was not the sense of solidarity which might have ensued from a diocesan whom the people could call really their own.

The 1841 Convention met in St. Paul's Church, Georgetown, Wednesday, the 26th of May. Bishop Onderdonk presided. In his address he reported having consecrated the new St. Andrew's Church, Wilmington, October 15th, 1840. "This edifice is substantial and beautiful, and reflects the highest credit on the zeal and liberality of those who have accomplished the good work, and particularly on the indefatigable exertions of the Rector, the Rev. W. H. Trapnell. To have the new building ready for consecration in less than nine months after the destruction of the former one is a remarkable example of dispatch. On this interesting occasion Bishop Whittingham, of Maryland, did me the favor to preach; and I administered the holy communion." The Bishop also reported that Trinity Church, Wilmington, had been greatly enlarged, and very much improved and

⁴⁰*Journal of the proceedings of the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Delaware, held at Milford, Wednesday, the 27th of May, 1840.*

beautified; "an undertaking highly honorable to the congregation and their efficient Rector, the Rev. J. W. McCullough."

At the afternoon session the Convention took steps to complete the organization of the Diocese by the election of a Bishop. The Rev. Alfred Lee, rector of Calvary Church, Rockdale, Pennsylvania, was nominated. "The nomination received the cordial support of several members: the Rt. Rev. Bishop Onderdonk, expressing his hearty previous concurrence in the proposition. . . . Mr. Lee received a unanimous vote and the chair declared the Rev. Alfred Lee to be duly elected Bishop of the Diocese of Delaware."

Those who signed the testimonial of his election were:—

H. U. Onderdonk, President of the Convention.

S. W. Presstman, Rector of Immanuel Church, New Castle.

John P. Bausman, Rector of St. Ann's Church, Middletown,
and St. Peter's, Smyrna.

John W. McCullough, Rector of Trinity Church, Wilmington.

Corry Chambers, Rector of St. James Church, Staunton.

William H. Trapnell, Rector of St. Andrew's Church,
Wilmington.

John Reynolds, Rector of Christ Church, Milford.

Samuel G. Callahan, Minister of Christ Church, Laurel,

and the following lay delegates:—

Wm. Smith, Jeremiah S. Deleplain—Grace Church, Brandywine.

Aquila Pritchard, James F. Wilson—St. Andrew's Church,
Wilmington.

Nehemiah Stockly, William Cummins—St. Peter's Church,
Smyrna.

M. Bradford—Trinity Church, Wilmington.

Joshua Burton, William B. Burton—St. George's Chapel,
Indian River.

Charles Wright, Major W. Allen—St. Luke's Church, Seaford.

C. S. Layton, John R. Draper—Christ Church, Milford.

Wm. D. Waples, Benjamin Burton—Prince George's Church,
Dagsborough.

Thomas Davis, Salathiel Baker—St. Matthew's Church,
Cedar Creek.

Samuel Paynter, Robert Burton—St. Peter's Church,
Lewestown.

Joshua A. Elligood, Josiah O. Neal—Christ Church, Laurel.

M. Rench, Edward Wootten—St. Paul's Church, Georgetown.

A committee of four was appointed to confer with the Bishop-

elect and request his acceptance.⁴¹ The Rev. Mr. Lee's reaction towards the call is best told in his own language when he addressed the Convention of 1842, after his consecration:

"A call wholly unexpected, from a portion of the church to which he was personally a stranger, broke in upon the quiet tenour of parochial engagements, and imposed upon him the necessity of deciding one of the most serious and important questions which can be presented to the mind of a minister of Christ. Before venturing to determine it, it seemed incumbent upon me to visit my brethren, who had honored me with such a mark of their confidence, and acquaint myself as fully as possible with the condition and circumstances of the church over which I was invited to preside. I accordingly made a tour of the lower part of the Diocese in June last (1841), and visited the upper part in July, being everywhere received with those kind and hospitable attentions which have been ever since extended to me throughout the state. That I found most of the churches in an exceedingly depressed and feeble condition, I need not inform you. You are too familiar with the desolations of Zion to require a description of them. I surely saw much to discourage in the field of labour proposed to me. But the result of my observations was to impress very deeply on my mind the wisdom and necessity of the step which the Convention had taken in the election of a Bishop; although I could not but regret that their choice had not fallen upon some one more experienced and better qualified. In no other course did there appear to human eye any prospect for the church in the two lower counties, but gradual decay and not very distant extinction.—It became my duty therefore to decide between personal inclination, the comparative comfort and more congenial retirement of the pastoral charge, and much conscious deficiency on the one hand, and the high claims of duty to the church of Christ, on the other. This question I endeavoured to meet in the fear of God, and in view of the great account hereafter to be rendered. Had there been a single dissenting voice in my election, I should have felt myself at liberty, although grateful for the preference manifested, to have declined the unexpected invitation. But the unanimity of the call given to me, invested it with ten-fold weight. I shrank from the responsibility of declining a charge which the hand of Providence appeared to lay upon me. In view therefore of its evident burdens and cares, and with its duties, difficulties and discouragements plainly seen, and convinced more deeply than any other can

⁴¹*Journal of the proceedings of the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Delaware, held at Georgetown, Wednesday, the 26th of May, 1841.*

be, of my insufficiency, I have felt constrained to answer, 'here I am, send me.'"⁴²

Alfred Lee was consecrated Bishop in St. Paul's Chapel, New York, October 12th, 1841. Morning prayer was read by the Rev. S. W. Presstman, of Delaware, assisted by the Rev. Dr. Crosswell, of Connecticut. The Ante-Communion service was begun by Bishop Henry U. Onderdonk, of Pennsylvania, the Epistle being read by Bishop Philander Chase, of Ohio, and the Gospel by Bishop Richard Channing Moore, of Virginia. The sermon, from the text: "Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine; continue in them; for in doing this, thou shalt both save thyself, and them that hear thee" (I. Timothy iv., 16) was preached by Bishop Charles Pettit McIlwaine, Bishop of Ohio. The Litany was read by Bishop Thomas Church Brownell, of Connecticut; and the questions were propounded to the candidate by Bishop Alexander Viets Griswold, of the Eastern Diocese. Bishops Moore, Chase, Brownell and Onderdonk of Pennsylvania united in the imposition of hands. Bishop Lee took his seat in the House of Bishops October 13th, making the number of members twenty-one, and being the thirty-eighth in the succession of American bishops. He officiated for the first time in the Diocese of Delaware, in Immanuel Church, New Castle; and presided over his first Convention at Wilmington May 25th, 1842, in St. Andrew's Church. His first Convention sermon was taken from the text: "Return, we beseech thee, O God of hosts; look down from heaven, and behold, and visit this vine." (Psalms lxxx., 14.) The era of progress had set in at last.⁴³

⁴²*Sermon and address delivered at the Fifty-second Annual Convention of the Diocese of Delaware, held in St. Andrew's Church, Wilmington, May 25, 1842, by the Rt. Rev. Alfred Lee, Bishop of the Diocese.*

⁴³*Alfred Lee: Planting and Watering, pp. 32-34.*

THE CASE OF THOMAS THOMLINSON*

Elizabeth Kaye

THIS is the story of a little drama that was in progress in an isolated corner of one of the most remote and uncared-for colonies of the British Empire one hundred and seventy years ago. The date is 1764; the scene, North Carolina, then celebrating the hundredth anniversary of her birth. She had been a neglected infant, treated from her earliest years with indifference, unreason, with unsuccessful attempts at harsh coercion that alternated with periods when she was left to her own scanty resources; and it was little wonder that her centenary found her wayward and unruly, peopled by settlers who resented fiercely interference from beyond the seas and obeyed the royal Governor only when his wishes were coincident with their own. On the northern frontier, where Carolina ran parallel to Virginia, it was said in 1727 that there men paid tribute to neither God nor Cæsar. A quarter of century of work by a handful of wide-scattered missionaries (themselves fitted for the work in varying degrees) had barely modified this attitude. It was a land of perpetual strife and contention, where individualism went unchecked and there was a violently-growing colonial self-consciousness.

About half-way down the coast-line of the Province as the crow flies, but many miles to the southward if the deeply indented shore were followed up its hundred of bays, creeks, inlets, stood the little town of Newbern. Settled in the first place by small bands of German and Swiss protestants (hence the name, New Berne), it had managed to struggle into permanent existence, although within living memory it had suffered the horrors of an Indian invasion and lost sixty of its inhabitants by tomahawk and knife. Here the Neuse River flowed into the shallow waters of Pamlico Sound, and up the estuary came the sea-borne trade from England in fluctuating but on the whole increasing volume, giving to the town its importance as a channel of communication with the old continent, and making it a center of civilized life for the sparse settlers of the interior. Here were to be found men with a sense of responsibility and traces of a

**Compiled from letters and papers in the possession of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Tufton Street, Westminster, London, S. W.*

wider outlook than could be found in, or expected from, the back settlers. Here were the headquarters of James Reed, since 1754 industrious, patient and upright pastor of a parish which extended to the furthest boundaries of Craven County; not only pastor, perhaps martyr, and—but the story must unfold itself in proper course. And here upon the scene arrives our hero—Thomas Thomlinson. Not a hero whose name is known to fame, on whom history has bent her searchlight; he has a brief hour on the stage, then the curtain swiftly drops and hides him.

When we first make his acquaintance, Thomas Thomlinson was already a man of fully-formed character; he was in the middle twenties and had a clear idea of what life meant for him and what he wanted to do with it. He had come to the wilderness of Carolina from a land whose solitude is less severe, but where quiet, empty spaces leave their mark on hearts sensitive to their tenderly rigorous discipline. He came from Cumberland in England; his home (it appears) was at Lazonby, that small village in the lovely Eden valley, where to east and west rise the cloudy outlines of Pennine and Lake mountains, and to the north the land opens out to the plain of Carlisle and the mysteries of Scotland beyond. He was known in west Cumberland as well; he had "good friends" at Wigton; and it is reasonable to conjecture that it was at this small town that bustled into life on market days that he kept his school. For he was a schoolmaster; not only a "good scholar, but a Man of good Conduct." It is plain that he was a man with a vocation. He was ambitious for the honour of his profession; he gave "great satisfaction to the parents of children under his care, and bid fair to be of infinite Service to the rising Generation." Events justified this judgment. A friend who watched his development during the eight crucial years of his career was able to write:

Mr. Tomlinson is a sincere Christian. . . . He is certainly one of the most peaceable and inoffensive men living, enters into no parties, meddles with no body's business but his own, & not addicted to any one visible Vice.

From Wigton a few miles of sloping land lead to the wide shores of the Solway; here golden sands and blue waters alternate through the long and lazy summers; larks hover and sing over stretches of sandy soil ablaze with gorse and thyme; grey hills of Scotland edge the further coast, now so near it seems an outstretched hand might almost touch them, now shadowy and far withdrawn, now altogether blotted out by one of the black storms that rush suddenly up the estuary from the treacherous Irish Sea. Fancy pictures Thomas Thomlinson pacing those sands on rare days of leisure, Criffel a blue

shadow in front of him, the cry of curlews in his ears; and there dreaming his dreams of high if sober hopes for the future.

That future had suddenly assumed another shape. From distant Carolina had come a summons, from Newbern on its important river, with its hinterland of scattered clearings, of swamps and remote forests; with its population now thoroughly imbued with a strongly colonial outlook. The inhabitants had become alive to the desirability of securing education for their much-neglected children, and had formed the project—although at the moment the idea was pretty nebulous—of establishing a public school. A member of the Thomlinson family had already emigrated and settled in the town; would Thomas come over, take charge of the school and raise it to that eminence which its originators hoped for and which its situation promised?

The pioneering spirit was strong in the family; the brother who had already made his way to Carolina urged that fortune, if not fame, was there for the asking; his own brain conjured up ideas of service and wide opportunity that only awaited the enterprising explorer. No man born or nurtured there can leave the lovely Cumbrian country without a pang; but with whatever grief of heart, he bade good-bye to Lazonby and Wigton, to the soft mists and rain-washed luminous skies; undertook the very real perils of the tedious voyage, and set his face resolutely toward the brave new life of America.

Arriving in Newbern in December, 1763, he lost no time in putting his plans into execution; and so great was his dispatch that he was able to open his school on the first day of the new year. Unknown and incalculable New Year, what did it hold for this valiant adventurer? Apparently nothing but good. Mr. Reed, who took an interest in the school no less ardent than that of the schoolmaster himself, was able to write on June 1st:

(He) immediately got as many Scholars as he cou'd possibly take to do them Justice. And a Subscription for a School House has lately been carried on with such success, that I have got notes of hand payable to myself for upwards of Two Hundred Pounds this Currency (equal to about One Hundred & Ten Pounds Sterl) to build a large Commodious School House in Newbern, & which I shall endeavour to get completed as soon as possible. For during Eleven Years Residence in this Province, I have not found any Man so well qualified for the care of a School as Mr. Tomlinson.

The wise and gentle Mr. Reed, who though he never learnt to spell the name of his protegee aright, yet grew to love him with almost a

father's affection, was not the only person to be impressed by the vigour and single-minded zeal of the new recruit from England. The leading inhabitants of the town, taking due note of his "Sobriety and good Conduct," drew up a Memorial to the Governor. With self-approbation they drew his attention to the fact that 'the Inhabitants of this Town and County as well as several of the Adjacent Counties have subscribed considerable Sums of Money for the building of a large and commodious Schoolhouse to encourage the said Thomas Thomlinson as much as in their power'; pride had swelled the sum, whether in fact or imagination later events will show, to "above Three Hundred Pounds Proclamation," and they anxiously declared that

they are very desirous that the said Thomas Thomlinson should continue among them as a schoolmaster whom to their general Satisfaction they have experienced to be well qualified not only to instruct their Children in such branches of useful Learning as are necessary for Youth . . . but also desirous to imprint on their tender minds the principles of the Christian Religion.

Governor Dobbs was pleased to endorse this appeal; he signed it in a hand already shaken by years and sickness and forwarded it to England to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, knowing it ever ready to listen and (if circumstances allowed) to respond to petitions on behalf of religion and sound learning. This was the only service that Governor Dobbs had it in his power to render Thomas Thomlinson, for in the following March he died. "He was to have imbarc'd in a few days for London," wrote a contemporary; "but I hope in God he has had a better remove."

The new Governor, William Tryon, was to prove a pillar of strength, however, and in '65 forwarded a supplementary petition to London. Meanwhile, Thomas' hopes ran so high and numbers at the school rose so rapidly that as early as June in his first year he wrote to friends in England to engage and send out an assistant. Thirteen months later the assistant was still lacking—a delay in no way exceptional when confirmation that letters had been received safe in London might take two, three, and even more years: but the schoolmaster

expects one daily, tho' a little dubious, whether the Advantage arising from keeping an Assistant will be Proportionable to the Trouble & expence, unless he shou'd be so happy as to meet with a Person better qualified for such a Place than he can reasonably expect according to his Proposals.

It is not surprising that the rash young man experienced a few qualms, for he had engaged the assistant entirely at his own risk and charge; but as it turned out, James Macartney proved for fourteen months a valuable help and acquitted himself with "the greatest Diligence & Assiduity." Thomas Thomlinson's financial prospects were hardly brilliant: he had

Thirty Scholars at Twenty Shillings Proc by the Quarter
which according to the present Exchange amounts to Sixty
Pounds Sterling per ann:

and James Reed knew of "no other Advantages or Perquisites whatsoever." The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, however, had agreed to give him £15 a year, on the strict understanding that the money could not be procured from any other source. The modest expectations of the schoolmaster appear to have been satisfied by this aspect of his affairs, for he told Mr. Reed that he had no reason to complain; and this James Reed, practical man as he was, admitted he was relieved to hear,

for he is the first Person, I verily believe, that ever taught school in Newbern for any considerable Time, without complaining of bad Pay, & very loudly such Complaints I have seen nail'd up at the Church Door.

He added with satisfaction that Mr. Thomlinson continued a useful member of society among them, and attended his school with very great diligence. It was a matter of much concern to him, however, that living conditions for his young friend were far from pleasant. The people were mostly very poor; all sorts of

wares & merchandise are excessive dear, much dearer, I believe in this Province than in any other upon this Continent, which may in some Measure be owing to our bad Navigation, but principally to the Want of a Proper Staple Commodity. Board is likewise very high, not less than Twenty five Pounds Sterling per Ann: in any regular decent Family, & indeed hardly any such families to be found that will take in Boarders on any Terms whatsoever. Mr. Tomlinson is obliged to lodge in a public House, which, he says, is very disagreeable, but as the Children belonging to the family are under his Tuition, he meets with some Indulgence in his expences, & therefore submits to the Inconvenience on account of his Interest.

An House of his own in the honourable estate of matrimony, I presume, wou'd be more agreeable, wou'd his Circumstances permit; & I know of no other Method of Living

that can be attended with the least Satisfaction to a regular & virtuous Man in this place.

Perhaps Thomas himself had visions of the home he might one day possess; but if his private circumstances compelled such day-dreams to be put aside for the present, still more so did the pressure of public affairs. To far-sighted observers, indeed, such as James Reed, the portents were ominous: at the very beginning of 1766 he noted "the distracted & confused Situation of Affairs in this American world. Tho' the People here are peaceable & quiet, yet they are very uneasy, discontented & dejected. The Courts of Justice are in a great Measure shut up, & tis expected that in a few Weeks there will be a total Stagnation of Trade." Yet the affairs of the school continued to progress; for in this year, after the long delays which were a matter of course in all colonial enterprises at the time, the House of Assembly passed an Act creating an "Incorporated Society for Promoting and Establishing a public school at Newbern"—the first "public" school in the Province. For a limited time, one penny per gallon was laid upon all spirituous liquor imported into Neuse river for the benefit of the school: out of the proceeds of the duty so levied, twenty pounds a year were to be paid to the schoomaster to enable him to keep an assistant, and the remainder was to be applied to the free education of poor children, not exceeding ten in number. Thomas Thomlinson may well have thought the way was now fairly clear before him. And on Easter Monday in that year proof was given of the general esteem in which the community held him, for the Vestry appointed that he should attend Newbern Church on those frequent Sundays when James Reed was absent at one or other of his remote chapels, and read such portions of the service as were suitable for a layman. For this duty the Vestry voted him twelve pounds a year; Mr. Reed provided a copy of Tillotson's Sermons; and so satisfactory were the sermons, or the young Reader's performance of his duty, that the congregations attended "very regularly." Welcome as was this addition to his income, he still had cause for anxiety about money matters. His lack of means began to weigh on his mind, for he was now about thirty years old, and anxious (Mr. Reed reported) to "settle himself for life." Early in 1767 he was greatly encouraged by the news that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had, in addition to his regular salary, granted him a gratuity of ten pounds. (This was repeated on a subsequent occasion.) His letter acknowledging this "extraordinary benevolence" assured the Society that he would go through the fatigues of his work with "Chearfulness & Assisduity," although a close attendance upon a school in such a climate as that of

Carolina—with its violent changes of weather, its “nauseous exhalations” from swamps, marshes or stagnant waters, its extreme autumnal heats in the low-lying parts of the Province—was “one of the greatest Trials to a Man’s Constitution.” Anxious words, those, for his friends to hear, in a land where toll of life was as heavy as it has ever been in any of the infant colonies of the Empire; where young men arriving in robust health and high spirits one week, had been followed to their grave the next, where a few years changed the ardent missionary into an old man with “crazy constitution,” paralyzed or crippled by rheumatism, “fluxes” and intermittent fevers.

By July, 1766, the school house was at length enclosed, and was considered a “large and decent edifice for such a young Country.” It measured forty-five feet in length, thirty in breadth, and had already cost upwards of three hundred pounds Carolina currency. As is the way with such buildings, funds were now exhausted, yet the floors were not laid, nor the chimneys built. James Reed was as unflagging as ever in his enthusiasm. “I have preached & begged in its behalf,” he wrote, “till the Suppliant is grown weary & Charity cold.” He had gone so far as to send his last half-year’s salary to New York to purchase bricks for the chimneys, and was determined to use the opportunity that would be offered the following November when a session of the General Assembly was to be held at Newbern by recommending the enterprise from the pulpit and trying thus to increase the subscriptions. He did not conceal that it was uphill work. “‘Twould give me much Satisfaction to see a little flourishing Academy in this place,” he said; “I have this Affair much at heart, & the difficulties I have met with have given me much uneasiness.” Could zeal have removed obstacles, Newbern School would soon have been accomplished by the devotion of these two men. The schoolmaster, in spite of his own precarious situation, followed James Reed’s example and himself sank a “considerable sum of money” in the institution. But however unfinished the building, the work of education proceeded steadily. In 1767 the number of children had risen to “near 80,” although owing to absences, particularly in the sickly season of the autumn, the average attendance was about sixty.

The next two years passed in comparative peace, if not without incident. Mr. Macartney (gone to England seeking ordination) was succeeded as assistant by James Parrot, who proved a helpful colleague and sincere friend. But the school recorded with the sensitiveness of a barometer the fluctuations in the prosperity of the Province according to its economic and political condition from month to month. And the barometer began steadily to fall. In 1770 the “advanced price of boarding in this place, and the extreme scarcity of our Cur-

rency" prevented many gentlemen in distant places from sending their children, as they would have wished, to Newbern school; so that Thomas Thomlinson was forced to admit that "the School for some Time past has been a little upon the Decline." At this date, too, it was affected by a rival establishment, for a school was opened by a dissenting minister at Wilmington, nearly a hundred miles to the south in the Cape Fear district, and a half-dozen of the Newbern scholars were removed to it for the convenience of being nearer home. This reduced Thomas Thomlinson's charges to about forty-four. But worse was to befall. Fate began to load the dice. Events piled themselves up and led to a catastrophe that was unforeseen and overwhelming. It was an insignificant detail that provoked the storm, but in a short space Thomas found himself involved in a quarrel that jeopardized his career. For he offended an unscrupulous man who had power—a parent, who was also a trustee of the school.

From the beginning Thomas Thomlinson had not had an easy task. Mr. Reed put the matter in a nutshell:

When Mr. Tomlinson opened his school (he wrote), he was apprised of the excessive Indulgence of American parents, & the great difficulty of keeping up a proper discipline; more especially as his School consisted of a Number of both Sexes. He was therefore very cautious, & used every little Artifice to avoid Severity as much as possible. But when the Children grew excessive headstrong, stubborn & unruly, & likely to endanger the Welfare of his School, he used to correct & turn them out of his School, & make some little difficulties about their Readmission.

This sensible procedure did not satisfy malignant fortune. She put it into the heads of the children of two of the Trustees to "commit notorious offences"—to behave in so altogether outrageous a way that Thomas had no choice but to follow his usual routine and expel them for a time. The Trustees were eleven in number, of whom James Reed was one. One of them had "acquired a very considerable fortune by trade" in consequence of which four or five of his colleagues were "intirely at his devotion." It was this man whose parental pride was affronted, who took "very great umbrage" at the policy of the schoolmaster, and who from this date became his bitter enemy. "The potent trustee," Mr. Reed named him, with his gift for phrase, and even he could not disguise his scorn for this man and his friends.

The Majority of the Trustees are Wealthy men, but I cannot learn, that any of them ever passed thro' a reputable School, or have the least knowledge of any of the learned Languages, or liberal Sciences, or of the difficulty of govern-

ing a School. And I shall leave you to judge of the Honour & Integrity of some of them from the inclosed List of Debts due to Mr. Tomlinson, which he gave me last Christmas.

It is clear that the weapons that Thomas Thomlinson could bring to bear in his own defence were not likely to be of much avail in a contest with adversaries of so different a calibre from his own.

When the schoolmaster found his numbers thus reduced, he petitioned the Trustees to make up the number of poor scholars under his care to ten, the number provided for in the Act of Assembly; at no time had he ever received more than five. But if the allotted number were supplied, then there would be full work for Mr. Parrot as well as for himself, and the school would be nearly as full as it was before these misfortunes began to occur. "But behold the Consequence," said Mr. Reed. A meeting of the Trustees was held on September 14th, 1771—not a general meeting for James Reed received no notice of it—but of such of the members as "could be depended upon to answer particular purposes," and an order made that he should dismiss the five poor children then at school, under pretext of want of money to repair the school house or "do the least thing in it." That it was a pretext, the accounts clearly proved; for when after many delays Mr. Reed obtained access to them, he found that after making full allowance for the education of ten poor children as well as for the other commitments of the Trustees, a balance for repairs and sundries was left over of £52. 7. 1. The dismissal order, in fact, was nothing but a "design to distress Mr. Tomlinson." And distress him it did, for now that the school was so reduced in number there was not enough work there for two men. There was nothing for it but to approach Mr. Parrot himself on the matter; and here the harassed schoolmaster met with a man of like character to himself. For with a generous sympathy beyond praise, James Parrot recognized the necessities of the case; he consented at once to cancel the agreement by which he was entitled to employment for a specified number of years, and agreed to provide for himself. In a country so unsettled, with trade fluctuating and the currency most unstable, it was a brave as well as an unselfish act: But his generosity was rewarded. His talents as "a good mathematician & Penman" secured him a living for the time being from hackney writing. And Thomas Thomlinson breathed again; the worst difficulty seemed overcome, and once more he felt "perfectly easy" in his circumstances. But the respite was short.

At this point stress of feeling made James Reed's narrative intensely dramatic; we are swept along on a wave of passion. The next stage of the story must be told in his own words:

But tho' Mr. Tomlinson was now perfectly easy, yet resentment cou'd not sleep. The Correcting & Turning the Children of two of the trustees out of the School, was, like the sin against the Holy Ghost, never to be forgiven. Mr. Tomlinson's destruction was determined upon, but how to accomplish it was the difficulty. Mr. Parrot was therefore tampered with to open a School in opposition to him. But Mr. Parrot saw thro' their design of making a Fool of him; & tho' he detested their proposal, yet he gave soft answers, implying, that if the School shou'd at any time be vacant, he wou'd accept it, provided he had no better employment. Mr. Tomlinson was therefore to be turned out to make room for him; but Governor Tryon was in the Way, who had been an Eye Witness of Mr. Tomlinson's Conduct, & had a particular Value & Esteem for him. But at length Governor Tryon was removed to New York, & a new Governor succeeded him, who was a stranger to Mr. Tomlinson, & then was the time to strike the fatal Blow. Accordingly on the 14th of last September there was a Meeting of the trustees, (not a general one, for tho' a trustee, I had no notice of it, not being a proper person for such business as they were about) when they did their utmost to turn Mr. Tomlinson out of the School. . . . Upon (their proceedings) I wou'd beg Leave to remark; That when they took the poor Children away, there were no complaints of Neglect, but only of Want of Money. But now Mr. Tomlinson is accused of neglecting his School by the trustees, & what seems very surprising, by nobody else. They were the only Accusers, & the only Judges.

Mr. Tomlinson has taught School here upwards of eight years, & I never heard him accused of neglecting his School, till after the 14th of last September; & since that time only by one person, who is greatly in his debt, besides the trustees that endeavored to displace him. And I verily believe, that they might with as much Justice have accused him of robbery, or wilful Murder.

This letter was written in February, 1772, when the events of the last autumn could be seen in clear perspective. Five days earlier the victim wrote his own account of the affair. "The injurious treatment I received last Fall from the Incorporated Society" had roused his bitterest resentment.

Without the least previous Disapprobation of my Conduct—nay, without even a Moment's warning, (they) attempted to dismiss me from my Office, at one of their Meetings in last September, in the most indecent, ungenerous & arbitrary manner:

Not contented with the Arbitrary Exertion of Power; After having given me an Order, in public Meeting, as well

for my Salary, as for the Education of the poor Children &c which had been long due to me; One of the Members, *out of public Meeting*, & by his own Authority, (to whom two more afterwards joined themselves) countermanded the Order given by the *whole Society*, and forbade the Treasurer to pay me: so that, I have been obliged to commence a Law Suit against them.

My Remonstrances against their Proceedings availed nothing. I found it had been the premeditated Scheme of One Great Man, & two of his Adherents, (whom I had affronted near 2 years before by correcting & turning out of School some of their Children for very Notorious Offences) to remove me at all events. You will not doubt of the undue Influence he has obtained, when you are acquainted, that all the rest of the Members tamely acquiesced with, & servilely submitted to, his Countermanding my Order; notwithstanding its being contrary to every Principle of Justice. Nor have they ever yet dared to resent such an Outrage offered to the whole Society: or to assert their Rights which he has thus wantonly trampled upon & violated.

Thomas Thomlinson might well state the case in strong terms. For the money ordered to be paid to him, and immediately afterwards withheld, consisted of twenty pounds for an assistant, due nine months previously: fifteen pounds for three-quarters of a year's schooling for five poor children due eleven months previously: as well as six pounds seven shillings and two pence for a "Sett of Maps, Globe, &c" owed for an unspecified length of time; in fact, the whole of this large sum had come from the poor schoolmaster's own pocket, and he was summarily dismissed (as they thought) without any pay in lieu of notice. A further aggravation of his ill-treatment was a list of private debts owing from various parents: from trustees in their private capacity, no less than one hundred and twenty-one pounds ten shillings; from others, seventy-two pounds fifteen shillings; and bad debts estimated at thirty pounds. In spite of the law suits which he instituted with a heavy heart for the recovery of these sums, he did not expect, even should all go well, to recover any of it in less than eighteen months. As it turned out, the Trustees took fright; a few days before the sitting of the superior court, when the case was down for hearing, the Treasurer paid Thomas the whole sum due from the Society, ordered the suit to be dismissed, and paid the costs.

We must return for a moment to the fatal meeting of the 14th of September. Only eight of the Trustees were present; there were two vacancies; Mr. Reed had not been summoned. Thomas Thomlinson, being charged with "negligence & undue attendance," was dismissed by the vote of seven, one dissenting. He was summoned before the meeting, and abruptly discharged. Immediately after-

wards two new trustees were elected, sent for and sworn in. A nomination of Mr. Parrot as schoolmaster was at once drawn up, signed by ten, and forwarded to the new Governor for his assent.

But here the trustees met with a difficulty, they were not aware of. They knew of Mr. Parrot's distressed Circumstances, & never doubted but he would readily accept the School. But when the time of trial came, he let them see, that he had too much Sense to be made a Fool of, & too much Honour to supplant a worthy honest Man. In short, he refused to accept the School, when offered in such a base and dishonourable Manner; which redounded so much to his Credit, that he has lately got into decent employment in the Secretary's Office, which, I hope will give him a comfortable Subsistence at present, & be a Step towards his future Advancement.

Here at least virtue was rewarded; relief is afforded in the deepening gloom of our story. It is for the last time.

At this stage of affairs, the new Governor, Martin, was drawn into the case. By the Act incorporating the Society, it had been laid down that the assent of the Governor was necessary for the appointment of the schoolmaster, and Thomas Thomlinson accordingly held the Governor's license. He now appealed to Governor Martin for a public hearing. Mr. Reed, though at the time a sick man, accompanied his friend when he waited upon his Excellency, and they were received very graciously. The Governor was a new-comer, and not knowing how he was legally authorized to interfere, prudently refused to grant a public hearing until he had obtained legal advice; but he lost no time in requesting the opinions of the Attorney-General and of another prominent lawyer—the Honourable Marmaduke Jones—upon the case. Their views coincided, and were stated at length in October by the Honourable Marmaduke Jones. He found that the Act of 1766 invested the Governor with a power "perfectly nugatory, making his license necessary to the appointment of a Master, while the absolute power of dismissal and removal of Masters is reserved to the Trustees, and requires not his consent or participation." There was nothing more to be done. But Governor Martin, stirred by the injustice of the case, would not let matters rest without making some attempt to prevent similar outrages in the future. He wrote at length to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and to the Bishop of London. In the first letter he said:

I should be much wanting in justice to a most excellent and deserving Character . . . if I did not stand forth to defend Mr. Thomas Thomlinson from any ill impressions

that may be conceived of him on his dismissal from the Mastership of the public School in this Town. Upon the strictest enquiry I find his Character, and Conduct not only unimpeached but standing in the fairest Light; and he has been discharged from the Mastership of the School through the Caprice of a few of the Trustees who have an overruling influence in absurd resentment of his just moderate and necessary exertion of the authority of a Pedagogue over their contumacious Children.

The tangible result of this letter was that the Society in London continued to pay their share of Mr. Thomlinson's salary despite the action of the Trustees. The letter to the Bishop of London dealt fully with the legal aspect of the question, with suggestions for amending the Act; it also paid its tribute to "the worthy and injured Gentleman," and related the story now familiar to us.

The King's Governor (he continued), is rendered the mere instrument of the Trustees power, which they have most capriciously exercised in the present instance, and who being ignorant and uneducated men, are as little capable of judging of the merits of a Pedagogue; as inclinable to do Justice.

Whether the Governor's efforts bore fruit or not, it was too late to save Thomas Thomlinson. From September, 1771, till April, 1772, he continued to carry on the school as usual, being unwilling himself to turn out and James Parrot being unwilling to take his place; but he did not resolve on this step until "solicited in the strongest manner by all my former Employers to a man—three of the families of the discontented Trustees only excepted." He also continued to officiate as Reader of the parish, in which station, the Governor declared, he acquitted himself admirably. But by the spring he found it an absolute necessity to wind up his affairs; a close attention to business in that hot climate had considerably impaired his health; more urgent still, so many of the parents were in arrears to him, that his financial position was shattered. For the last time we scan the delicate, clerkly writing, the firm clear letters with their even slant, the elegant capitals, the d's with their curving backs, which no doubt had many a time adorned the Newbern blackboard:

I have now to acquaint you that I quitted the School on the 13th of April, & Surrendered my License to his Excellency. What a Hardship that this Affair, in which both my Interest & Character have been so deeply concerned, shou'd be smothered up without a fair & public Hearing.

And so we bid good-bye to Thomas Thomlinson. In September of that year, 1772, he was at Rhode Island, hoping to restore the health which had suffered from the close confinement of so many years. After that, silence. We know nothing further of his history. He has had his brief moment in the light; he passes now into the darkness beyond. Did he remain in America, take his part in the quarrels and intrigues of the chaotic years that followed? Did he survive to watch the fortunes of the infant republic? Or was his blood shed in loyalty to king and mother-country, in defence of the old order, of the values expressed in the civilization of Europe? Or did the hills of Cumberland call him back across the sea? Did he settle down once more in quiet Lazonby on the Eden, finding there the happiness and security that the Carolinas so sorely lacked? Did he pace again the Solway sands reflecting on the dreams that had drawn him to the West, and on the nature of that "liberty" that in his case at least had proved so elusive a will-o'-the-wisp? We cannot tell. He passes out of history.

What of James Reed, wise and faithful missionary? Surely his labours bore fruit, that unrelenting toil of over twenty years? In surroundings where the gentler virtues went to the wall, where the crudities of a settler's life blotted out the subtler aspects of human nature, he never ceased to uphold a humane tradition, to preach the value of the fruits of the spirit. In 1760 we read that "he hath given great Satisfaction to his Parishioners by a regular & exemplary Life & a faithful Discharge of his Duty & that there is a perfect Harmony and good Agreement subsisting between him & his Parishioners." "I think myself happy in their Love & Affection," he wrote in reply, "and have entirely laid aside all thoughts of deserting my Charge or ever removing." Many years later, when deaf, broken in health and "drugged with unavailing medicines," he was still of the same mind, and refused to consider suggestions that he should seek an easier parish and a new set of acquaintances in the "decline of life." He perpetually preached a gospel of love. In 1774 he protested in whole-hearted manner against an Act empowering keepers of work-houses to inflict corporal punishment on the refractory poor. "The very thought of whipping the Aged & Infirm, tho' a little refractory, is shocking," he declared. Yet for his own soul he found little peace. Weariness of spirit overtook him at the end. "I must ingenuously confess," (he writes), "I am heartily weary of living in this Land of perpetual Strife & Contention. Such I have found it by the Experience of upwards of Twenty years. . . . For I need not inform you that all America is in a most violent Flame. And every good

man wou'd forbear as much as possible adding the least Fuel to the Fire."

In that fire he was to be consumed. He refused to take part in a service at Newbern on March 20th, 1775, which would have brought him under the displeasure of Government; he was "listed in the Gazette"; the committee of the Continental Congress

Desired that the Vestry Should suspend him, and that the Church-Wardens should not pay him his Salary, which was immediately complied with.

In 1776 he hoped that the breach with his people had been healed. But the hope was vain. We are laconically informed that he did not long survive the treatment he received, and in May, 1777, he died.

To rescue from complete oblivion the memory of these Englishmen who lived so many years ago, is the only restitution now possible for their griefs and wrongs. And for ourselves it is not unprofitable to ponder for a while, not the cost to life and health alone, not the loss of material ease and wealth—but the "expense of spirit" that went to the blazing of a trail, the making of an Empire.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH

Manuscript Journal of John Stark Ravenscroft, First Bishop of North Carolina

JOHN STARK RAVENSCROFT was consecrated first Bishop of North Carolina on May 22, 1823. He died March 6, 1830. The following is the Journal of his first visitation. The manuscript was found in the archives of the General Convention and is now published for the first time.

BISHOP RAVENSCROFT'S JOURNAL

Friday, June 27th, 1823—Left home on my first Episcopal Visit to the Diocese of North Carolina—and arrived at Winsborough (Waynesborough) in Greenville County the same day—lodged at Mrs. Sneeds, with the Rev. Mr. Green, Rector of St. Johns Church in that village—Very wet weather, but most refreshing to the Earth and Crops parched up by a Drought of nearly two months Continuance—Mrs. R with me.

Saturday, June 28th—Preached in St. Johns Church—the Service by Mr. Green—the Congregation small, owing to the weather.

Sunday the 29th June—Preached and administered the Sacrament with the assistance of Mr. Green—the House nearly full, and an attentive people—May the word be Fruitful.

Met with a Miss Yancey—infected with the Romish Delusion—thro the Glasses of Bishop England—Endeavoured to counteract his perversions of Scripture, in favour of Transubstantiation—chiefly by shewing the irrelevancy of the Scripture passages relied upon, and the fallacy of any Resort to the analogy of this with the other Mysteries of Religion—and of Mystery in general—because they in no Case, tho above our Reason, contradict either our Reason or Senses, which the Doctrine of Transubstantiation certainly does—But chiefly because it is in direct opposition to St. Pauls understanding of the Scriptures relied upon by the Romanists—For if this Doctrine be true, Christ must often have suffered not only since the Beginning of the World, in every Sacrifice and sacramental Memorial of him, previous to his Passion—but subsequently also since his Glorification, even to the present day—left her this Question to consider

on—What can you obtain, as regards the salvation of your Soul—in the Church of Rome, which you cannot have in the P. E. Church—Bishop England very politic—veiling and holding back the revolting parts of the Romish Doctrines, and shewing great latitude to his people, both in opinion and Practice, in respect to other Denominations.

Monday the 30th—Visited an old acquaintance in the neighbourhood—Col. Robt. Burton, an Episcopalian in principle—tho lax on the distinguishing Doctrines and Character of the Church—and hampered by a different profession in his own family—and disposed to go with all—He is old and very infirm, awake to the warnings of a Tottering Tabernacle—and expecting his Desolation with Hope.

Held a Conversation with Mr. Green and Horace Burton on the subject of Masonry—shewing its Nullity when considered as an adjunct to the Gospel—its opposition in principle to the Religion of Christ—and the injurious Effects, from its being patronised by the Ministers of Religion. Mr. Burton, who is a Presbyterian, tells me he has ceased to attend their Lodges—Mr. Green does not yet see it in the right light.

July 1st, Tuesday—Proceeded on my Journey—Mr. & Mrs. Green in Co. Reached Oxford to Dinner at Mr. William Sneed and spent the night at Mr. Stephen Sneeds. Preached by Candle light in the Methodist meeting house to a full assembly—There are in this place a few Episcopalians but like sheep without a Shepherd, continually exposed to the inroads of the Dissenters, and to the Greivous Effects of occasional Services. The Lord send labourers into his Vineyard—and stir up the Hearts of the People to feel their own wants, and to make an Effort to provide against them.

Wednesday the 2d. Proceeded on our Journey—to Dr. Bullocks to Dinner—15 miles—Friendly to the Church and desirous for his Family to continue therein—spoke to me on the subject of Confirmation, wishing two of his Children to have the Benefit of that Ordinance—explained the nature of the rite—and the necessary preparation for its profitable administration—I judge however, that he wishes it, because it is practised in the Church—not with an understanding impression of its nature, obligation and Efficacy.

Went on in the Evening to Judge Camerons in Orange County, 6 miles—son of the late Revd. Dr. Cameron of the Dioc. of Virginia—an old acquaintance of mine and Mrs. R's—an able man, a Pious and a wealthy Episcopalian to whom the Church in North Carolina is under great obligations.

Found the Family in distress from the Circumstance of their second daughter having broken her arm that morning by a fall in the school room—The arm is sett, but she is in great pain. Thursday, Friday and Saturday, remained

with this kind family, in the enjoyment of Friendly and Christian Intercourse. Remarked the very luxuriant state of the Corn crop from Wnsborough (Waynesborough) to this place—Much of the Wheat injured however and some lost, by a wet Week in the close of the harvest.

Sunday July 6th—Proceeded to St. Marys Chapel for Divine Service, by previous appointment—10 miles—found a large Collection of People, and an arbour erected—the Chapel being small. The Service by Mr. Green—after the 2d Lesson—Baptised 8 adults and one Infant—Some of the adults, the first Fruits of a Sunday school commenced in this place by Mrs. Anderson of Hillborough, her son and daughter in law—on arriving at the place, was struck with the spectacle of a number of the Blacks collected together with their Boards of the alphabet in their hands.

Mem.: to carry out the Thought, of a plan for the profitable instruction of the Blacks in this way—

After the Ante Communion Service administered the Rite of Confirmation to 24 Persons—one of them, Mrs. Latta, between 80 and 90 years of age, and desirous above Measure of this apostolick sealing to God in the Hope of the Gospel.

Preached from 2d Corinth. 5 & 21—and administered the Sacrament to 45 Communicants—many of these however belonging to other Denominations. The Congregation at this place, is under the care of the Rev. Mr. Green, my fellow traveller, who preaches to them twice a month.

After Service went on to Hillsborough—6 miles—with Mrs. Anderson and her Friends. Here Mrs. R had the opportunity of recalling past scenes in the Company of Mrs. Anderson, her mother, sister and one of her brothers with other Connections of the family, no doubt very gratifying to her—as Mr. Cameron was many years her Parish Minister—and great intimacy subsisted between the Ruford & Cameron families.

Sunday Evening—I read the Service and Mr. Green preached in the Presbyterian Church.

Monday July 7th—Preached in said Church, in the forenoon, from the Parable of the Talents, and apparently with acceptance, the service by Mr. Green.

Tuesday 8th—Visited Judge Norwood, a short walk from the village—whose wife is a member of the Church—and preached in town in the Evening.

Took the opportunity after Prayers in the Family, to speak on the subject of the church, the distinct and authorized nature of the ministry—and the danger of losing sight of such advantages in the great work of Religion—to the Edification, Comfort and Strengthening & trust of some present.

Wednesday the 9th—Sett off at 4 oclock for Raleigh—reached Chapel Hill to Breakfast—14 miles—kindly received by

Major Henderson and his Family—one of the first Explorers of the Kentucky Country—While the Horses were refreshing, visited the University—all the Professors absent but one, Professor Mitchil—it being vacation—I saw the Rooms and Libraries of two Societies established by the young Men in College, which are well spoken of—tho the principle is not a safe or a Correct one in such Institutions, the Professors being necessarily excluded and of course have no Contrall over the subjects discussed, or the manner of treating them.

Surprised to find that the Professors do not lecture to the classes—the System being accademical and not collegiate. The Building is spacious enough but appropriated chiefly to Lodging Rooms, as is also another large Building, not yet finished—the view from the Cupola of the College is extensive, over a diversified surface, all forest—The Institution is under Presbyterian Influence exclusively. Dr. Caldwell being the President—This People seem to have no Remorse at appropriating to themselves, what was once applied to very different purpose. This place taking its name from an old Episcopal Chapel, now no more, close to the College, and their House at Hillsborough built on the very Foundations and ground of an Episcopal Church—an old Episcopalian being still alive, who complains bitterly that the very ground which he assisted to grub and clear with his own hands to build a Church upon, should now be taken from him.

Proceeded on 18 miles to Dinner, the Sun excessively hot, the Country poor and water for horses scarce—The Character of the Crop has changed since we passed Little River in the neighbourhood of Judge Camerons—the Corn low & weakly even on fine looking land.

Dined and Rested two hours at Henry Jones—a neat comfortable place and good fare—the water better than heretofore.

Went on in the Evening to Raleigh 10 miles, to the Tavern kept by Mr. Ruffin, preferring to rest there that night, seeing it was late and we were fatigued, to going to a private Family, where we were invited—Ruffins not a comfortable House.

Thursday the 10th—Removed to Mr. Sherwood Haywoods—where we were kindly received and made perfectly at Home.

Notice having been given that the Presbyterian Meeting House would be open for me during my stay, an appointment was made for that Evening—Dr. McPheeters the Presbyterian Minister waited on me, and very Civilly offered his Services—He is considered more liberal than common.

The day taken up with calls and introductions—all expressing satisfaction at my presence in the Place.

In the evening the Service by Mr. Green, afterwards I

preached but very uncomfortably to myself and Hearers—the light being (?) manageable—not a little mortified—seeking I fear the praise of Men.

Friday the 11th—Returning calls and looking for a House—found one to suit, but the Landlord sick and not able to go and view it—Visited the State House and the Statue of Washington by Canova—just put up—a fine piece of Sculpture but would answer better for any of the Roman Consuls—being neither a likeness in Features or in Costume—the Carolinians however very touchy on this Point.

Saturday the 12th—Divine Service by Mr. Green, after which I preached, preparatory to the Sacrament on the next day.

Sunday the 13—The Services in full to a numerous Congregation, some from a distance—the Communicants few in comparison, many of them Dissenters. Mr. McPheeters sick.

Preached again in the Evening and took leave of the People for the present. Owing to the absence of the Vestry of Christ Church Raleigh, and the professional engagements of the two that were there, I could not return a verbal answer to their application to me as Pastor—I therefore wrote to them accepting the offer—with room for Modifications, and a request to have some temporary place filled up for a place of Worship—I also answered various letters from the Clergy and put forth an advertisement to the Diocese, informing of my contemplated motions and probable removal to reside.

Monday 14th—Closed a Bargain with Mr. Webb for his House at \$150. per an. with a preference at that rent, unless sold—and in the afternoon sett off for home by way of Wnsborough (Waynesborough) and arrived there after visiting several friends on Friday Evening 18th—Thanks be to God for his Mercy and Protection.

THE REVEREND DEVEREUX JARRATT*

1732-1801

By E. Clowes Chorley

THE Evangelical Movement in the American Church sprang into life in Virginia about the middle of the eighteenth century. Its prophet was the Reverend Devereux Jarratt, for thirty-eight years the minister of Bath Parish, Dinwiddie County, Virginia.

The youngest son of Robert and Sarah (Bradley) Jarratt, he was born in the county of New Kent, some twenty-five miles below Richmond, on January 6, 1732. He had little education, but was gifted with an extraordinary memory, and could repeat whole chapters of the Bible. He was especially fascinated by the story of Samson in the Book of Judges. The "odiousness" of Delilah's character made such an impression upon him that it contributed "to that utter abhorrence I have had of that kind of *vermin* all the days of my life."

Religion had no place in his upbringing. His work consisted in the care and exercising of race horses, "preparing game-cocks for a match and main," and plantation work. "There was," he writes, "a church in the parish, within three miles of me, and a great many people attended it every Sunday. But I went not once a year. And if I had gone ever so often, I should not have been much the wiser; for the parish minister was but a poor preacher—very unapt to teach or even to gain the attention of a congregation. Being very near-sighted, and preaching wholly by a written copy, he kept his eyes continually fixed on the paper, and so near, that what he said seemed rather addressed to the cushion, than to the congregation. Except at a time, when he might have a quarrel with any body—then he would straiten up, and speak lustily, that all might distinctly hear. . . . In circumstances so unpromising, it is not very wonderful, that I remained ignorant of God, and careless about religion. I only copied the example of my *elders* and *superiors*." "*Cards, racing, dancing &c* were then much in vogue. In these I partook, as far as

my time and circumstances would permit, as well on Sundays as any other day. In these I vainly sought my felicity, but never found.”¹

The earliest religious book which fell into his hand was a copy of George Whitfield's *Sermons* preached in Glasgow—the first sermon book he had ever seen. It had no effect upon him, he writes, “As the author, I was told, was a *New Light*, and consequently what *he* said, was nothing to *Churchmen*.”² He went to board in a house the mistress of which was a *New-Light* and read aloud every evening one of Flavel's sermons. From this source Jarratt received his first real religious impressions. He strove earnestly for the light; but when tempted to give up the struggle, he was deterred by the thought that “damnation will be the consequence,” so he continued “rather than burn in hell to all eternity.” “For several months,” he said, “I had religion enough to make me frequently uneasy—but never enough to make me happy. Sinning and repenting—repenting and sinning was the round I went for many months.” During that period he read by the light of the evening fire Burkett on the New Testament, and “acquired considerable views of the plan of salvation,” but, he adds, “I did not yet think I had attained a living faith in his blood.”³ The light dawned slowly. Then came the crisis. Reading Isaiah lxii, 12—“Thou shalt be called, sought out, a city not forsaken,” he says,

“I was blessed with faith to believe, not one promise only, but all the promises of the gospel with joy unspeakable and full of glory—I saw such a fullness in Christ, to save to the uttermost, that, had I ten thousand souls as wretched and guilty as mine was, I could venture all on his blood and righteousness without one doubt or fear. The comforts I then felt, were beyond expression, and far superior to anything I had ever known before that memorable hour.”

‘Eternal glories to the King,
Who brought me safely through;
My tongue shall never cease to sing,
And endless praise renew.’

“It was a little heaven on earth—so sweet, so ravishing, so delightful. I uttered not a word, but silently rejoiced in God my Saviour.”⁴

Even prior to this experience he had “begun to exercise his talents for the good of souls, having acquired some knowledge of divinity,”

¹Jarratt, p. 23.

²*Ibid.*, p. 28.

³*Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁴Jarratt, pp. 48-9.

and "some gift in extempore prayer." When the regular minister was engaged in another part of the circuit Jarratt had conducted meetings at which he offered prayer, read "some lively and practical discourse," and led the people in the singing of Watt's hymns and psalms. In this way came the thought of the ministry.

Up to that time his entire religious life had been among the Presbyterians, and he had not only become a rigid Calvinist, but had "contracted a prejudice against the Church of England," and was "much set against the Prayer Book." Then he began to think, and Hervey became his favorite author. He writes:

"I learned also, that the two most zealous and indefatigable ministers in Europe, *Wesley* and *Whitfield*, were members of the Church of England. Those, and many other things, too tedious to mention, caused me to judge more favorably of the Church than I had done—I saw that a man might be as pious and useful in that Church as in any other: yea, all things considered at that time, I thought he might be more useful. The *Prayer Book* I had not examined, but had caught up a few scraps and sentences out of it, which were said to be objectionable, and which I thought were justly so. But, on mature consideration, and examination of the book on a larger scale, I saw, or thought I saw, that most of the objections were ill founded. There were, indeed, some words in some of the offices, which I thought had been better omitted, or differently exprest—and I think so still. But on the whole, I thought it contained an excellent system of doctrine and public worship—equal to any other in the world."⁵

Thus convinced, he determined to take Orders in the Church. Selling a patrimony of three hundred acres, in the spring of 1762 he obtained the necessary papers from the Governor of Virginia and the Commissary of the Bishop of London, "took his life in his hand" and sailed for England in October for Holy Orders. Making his way to London he passed the canonical examinations, holding his own with the candidates from Oxford and Cambridge and was ordered Deacon by the Bishop of London at Christmas. Just one week later he was priested by the Bishop of Chester. Whilst waiting for a ship he records hearing both Wesley and Whitfield, but "got little edification from either." He sailed from Liverpool on April 30, 1762, and landed at Yorktown the morning of the first Sunday in July.

Hearing that Bath parish was vacant, he set out for that place; preached in Butterwood church and on August 29th he was formally received as minister of the parish and commenced his eventful work in Virginia. He found religion at a low ebb. In a letter

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 57-8.

addressed to Francis Asbury and published in Asbury's Journal he writes, "Ignorance of the things of God, profaneness, and irreligion, then prevailed among all ranks and degrees; so that I doubt if even the form of godliness was to be found in any one family of this large and populous parish."⁶ Later, he wrote of conditions at that time:

"I found the principles of the gospel—the nature and condition of man—the plan of salvation through Christ—and the nature and necessity of spiritual regeneration, as little known and thought of, as if the people had never a church or heard a sermon in their lives. Yet, as it appeared, they thought themselves a wise and understanding people, and as religious as was necessary, or their Maker required them to be. Such being the state of things, every well informed mind will readily conceive, in a measure, the difficulties I had to encounter. I had to encounter gross ignorance of divine things, combined with conceited wisdom and moral rectitude. I had also to engage with strong prejudices, occasioned by their high opinion of the great learning and accomplishments of their former *ministers*. From *these*, I suppose, they had heard little else but morality, and smooth harrangues, in no wise calculated to disturb their carnal repose, or awaken any one to a sense of guilt and danger—They could not therefore, bear a blow at the root, or the self-abasing doctrines of free grace, which I constantly endeavored to preach in a close, plain, searching, pungent, animated manner. Nature would rise, and violently reluctate against such preaching. It was too mortifying for human pride to bear."⁷

When he preached the need for conversion, they said one to another, "We have had many ministers, and have heard many of our ministers before this man, but we never heard anything, till now, of conversion, the new birth &c.—we never heard that men are so totally lost and helpless, that they could not save themselves, by their own power and good deeds;—if our good works will not save us, what will"? When, too, he scathingly denounced the prevailing worldliness, they replied, "We have never heard any of our ministers say anything against *civil mirth*, such as dancing, &c. nay, they rather encouraged the people in them; for we have seen a parson such a one, and parson such another, at these mirthful places, as merry as any of the company. This new man of ours brings strange things to our ears."⁸

Distressed by such conditions Jarratt thundered against the world, the flesh and the devil in no uncertain tones. He describes

⁶*Bangs: History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Vol. I, p. 90.*

⁷Jarratt, pp. 83-4.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 85.

the plan of his preaching as aimed to convince of sin; to stress their inability to save themselves; to point out the remedy, and to urge them to "fly to Jesus Christ, and rest upon him for complete salvation."⁹ He writes:

"I began my ministry with the doctrine of original sin. I have no notion of entertaining unawakened mortals with florrid harrangues and fine paintings of moral *virtues*, as is too commonly the case, in our day. The word *virtue*, or *moral virtue*, is the cant term of all our velvet-mouthed preachers. . . . It is, indeed, a very pretty word, and sounds soft and smooth. It means *something* or *nothing*, according to the fancy of the reader or hearer. But I consider this favorite word to be of heathenish extraction, and therefore cautiously avoid it in all my public discourses. . . . Instead of moral harrangues, and advising my people, in a cool dispassionate manner, to walk in the *primrose paths of a decided, sublime and elevated virtue*, and not to tread in the foul tracks of *disgraceful vice*, I endeavored to expose, in the most alarming colors, the guilt of sin, the entire depravity of human nature, the awful danger, mankind are in, by nature and practice—the tremendous curse to which they are obnoxious—and their utter inability to evade the sentence of the law and the strokes of divine justice, by their own power, merit or good works. These doctrines are very grating and mortifying to the pride of man, and therefore, the more necessary to be often repeated, and warmly inculcated, that the haughtiness of man may be brought down, and his lofty imaginations laid low; that Jesus Christ may be gladly received, as a Saviour in a desperate case."¹⁰

Thus did Jarratt endeavor to turn his little world upside down, For a time it was adamant. He notes that the "common people" came to church more than usual, and "some were affected at times. so as to drop a tear," but adds, "Still for a year or more, I perceived no lasting effect, only a few were not altogether so profane as before. I could discover no heartfelt convictions of sin, no deep or lasting impression of their lost estate."¹¹ Then came a change. "In the year 1765, the power of God was more sensibly felt by a few. These were constrained to apply to me, and inquire, What they must do to be saved? Butterwood church was twice enlarged and still could not hold the crowds coming from far." In 1770 and 1771 there was "a more considerable outpouring of the Spirit; convictions were deep and lasting; and not only knowledge, but faith and love, and holiness

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁰Jarratt, pp. 83-4.

¹¹*Bangs: Vol. I, p. 91.*

continually increased." The following year the good work spread fifty and sixty miles around, and by 1774 "it was more remarkable than ever." He writes:

"The word preached was attended with such energy that many were pierced to the heart; tears fell plentifully from the eyes of the hearers, and some were constrained to cry out. A goodly number were gathered this year, both in my parish and in many of the neighboring counties."¹²

Encouraged by this work of grace Jarratt embarked upon a plan which had no precedent in the life of the Church in Virginia. He "went out by night and by day, at any time in the week to private houses," gathered as many as he could, "for the purpose of prayer, singing, preaching and conversation." He soon became convinced that "more solid and lasting good was done by those means, than at the churches."¹³ It was his custom at these meetings to put questions on the law and the gospel; repentance, faith, regeneration, sanctification and so on, "but the answers were generally lame and unsatisfactory."

Such novel methods did not go unchallenged, especially by his fellow clergy, most of whom were content with routine duty. They dubbed Jarratt "an enthusiast, fanatic, visionary, dissenter, Presbyterian, mad-man, and what not."¹⁴ He writes of this time,

"I stood alone for some considerable time; I dare say no man was ever more cordially abhorred, than I was by the clergy in general. By *them*, was I frequently threatened with writs and prosecutions &c. for the breach of canonical order. . . . One of the most furious wrote me two angry letters, reminding me of irregularity, and breach of the 71st canon, by preaching in private houses, &c."¹⁵ To his first letter I replied in mild and inoffensive terms. He wrote again, and insisted very strenuously on my great irregularity, in breaking the canon above said. I also wrote again, and observed—That if to preach in a private house, or even on any unconsecrated ground, was a breach of canonical order and regularity, then we were all involved in the same condemnation, for I know not that any clergy-

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 92.

¹³*Jarratt*, p. 91.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 86.

¹⁵The 71st Canon, entitled, *Ministers not to preach, or administer the Communion in private Houses* read in part: "No Minister shall preach, or administer the holy Communion, in any private House, except it be in times of necessity, when any being so impotent as he cannot go to the Church, or very dangerously sick, are desirous to be partakers of the holy Sacrament, upon pain of Suspension for the first offence, and Excommunication for the second." There is no record of Jarratt ever administering the Holy Communion in any private house at this time.

man in Virginia, ever scrupled to transgress that canon for the sake of forty shillings. This was the legal fee for a funeral sermon, under the establishment, and for the sake of which, all places were alike sacred, when any clergyman was called upon for such a service. I therefore asked my incensed brother, whether I, who preached in such places, without fee or reward, could be more culpable than those who were paid for it? I could not see that I was, and therefore concluded by saying, *He that is without sin*, in this respect, *let him cast the first stone* at me. Moreover, as I knew that my testy brother was very fond of cards, dice, tables, &c, which are expressly forbidden us, by the 75th canon,¹⁶ I made free to ask, if it was not as criminal, and more so, to break the 75th as the 71st canon? From that time I heard no more of the canons."¹⁷

Undeterred, Jarratt pursued his way waving the torch of a flaming evangelism. The strangers who came from far and near to Butterwood church carried the good news to their distant homes and pressing invitations poured in on him to preach in other places. When he complied, his experience matched that of John Wesley in England. Many churches were closed to him; others could not hold the thronging congregations. Hence he preached in the open air, under "trees, arbors or booths." Of such occasions he writes, "the extremities of the audience stood at the distance of fifty, sixty or eighty yards from me, on the right and left, and in front. But kind Providence had favored me with such strength of constitution and soundness of lungs, that without any disagreeable strain of voice, the farthest off could hear, as well as the nearest." In spite of his travels, which extended to a circle of about five hundred miles, he seldom failed to officiate in rotation on Sundays in the three churches of his own parish.

Devereux Jarratt attached great importance to what he always called "the Lord's Supper." Writing in 1794 of a period forty years back, he said,

"The sacrament of the supper had been so little regarded, in Virginia, by what were called *Church people*, that, generally speaking, none went to the *table*, except a few of the more aged, perhaps seven or eight at a church. The vast majority of all ages, sexes and classes seemed to think nothing about it, or else thought it a dangerous thing to meddle with. Accordingly, the first time I administered the sacrament here, about seven or eight communed."¹⁸

¹⁶The 75th Canon, on Sober Conversation required in Ministers, read, "No Ecclesiastical person shall at any time, other than for their honest necessities, resort to any Taverns, or Alehouses . . . they shall not give themselves . . . to drinking or riot, spending their Time idly by day or by night, playing at Dice, Cards, or Tables, or any other unlawful Games, &c."

¹⁷Jarratt, pp. 96-7.

¹⁸Jarratt, pp. 102-4.

But, he notes, "the preaching the humbling doctrines of the gospel of free grace, in their simplicity and purity," effected a great change in this respect. "As soon as the people got their eyes opened to see their own wants and necessity of a Saviour, and the nature and design of the *ordinances* was shown, and the obligation, which all professing Christians are under to remember their dying friend, according to his own institution, the number of communicants increased from time to time, so that in the year 1773, including those who constantly attended from other parishes, the number was, at least, nine hundred or one thousand."¹⁹ He writes,

"The approach of the communion season diffused pleasure throughout the parish, among all the godly, and great satisfaction, in common with the rest, have I enjoyed on those occasions. To see so many hundreds convened from different quarters, joining fervently in the divine service; to hear them singing the praises of their God and common Saviour, lustily, with one heart and voice—to see them listening to the word preached, with *attention still as night*—eagerly drinking in the balmy blessings of the gospel. . . . O, it was a little heaven on earth—a prelibation of celestial joys."²⁰

From time to time revivals broke out. One such Jarratt describes in these words:

"When the love-feast was ended, the doors were opened. Many who had stayed without, then came in; and beholding the anguish of some, and the rejoicing of others, were filled with astonishment; and not long after with trembling apprehensions of their own danger. Several of them, prostrating themselves before God, cried aloud for mercy. And the convictions which then began in many, have terminated in a happy and lasting change.

The multitudes that attended on this occasion, returning home all alive to God, spread the flame through their respective neighborhoods, which ran from family to family; so that within four weeks several hundreds found the peace of God. And scarce any conversation was to be heard throughout the circuit, but concerning the things of God: either the complainings of the prisoners, groaning under the spirit of bondage to fear, or the rejoicing of those whom the Spirit of adoption had taught to cry, 'Abba, Father.'"²¹

Jarratt describes the doctrines emphasized at these revival periods:

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 102.

²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 103-4.

²¹*Bangs: Vol. I, p. 96.*

"One of the doctrines, as you know, which we particularly insist upon, is that of a present salvation; a salvation not only from the guilt and power, but also from the root of sin; a cleansing from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, that we may perfect holiness in the fear of God; a going on to perfection, which we sometimes define by loving God with all our hearts. Several who had believed were deeply sensible of their want of this. I have seen both men and women, who had long been happy in a sense of God's pardoning love, as much convicted on account of the remains of sin in their hearts, and as much distressed for a total deliverance from them; as ever I saw any for justification. Their whole cry was,

"O that I now the rest might know,
Believe and enter in;
Now, Saviour, now, the power bestow,
And let me cease from sin.'"

He was not unmindful of the perils of religious excitement characteristic of the early revivals, and said that "in some meetings there has not been that decency and order observed which I could have wished" and that there was some wild fire mixed with the sacred flame. "Some of our assemblies resembled the congregation of the Jews at the laying the foundation of the second temple in the days of Ezra—some wept for grief, others shouted for joy, so that it was hard to distinguish one from the other. So it was here: the mourning and the distress were so blended with the voice of joy and gladness that it was hard to distinguish one from the other, till the voice of joy prevailed: the people shouting with a great shout, so that it might be heard afar off."²² He did his utmost to suppress unseemly excitement, and records his dislike of "loud outcries, tremblings, fallings, convulsions." On one occasion he was so successful in calming the tumult that he says, "Since that evening, this kind of confusion has never been known in my neighborhood. It continued longer in other places, but for some time has been totally gone."

In the year 1771, Robert Williams, the first Methodist preacher to visit Virginia, stood on the steps of the Court House at Norfolk and gathered a congregation by singing. He preached with "considerable interruption from some disorderly persons. They seemed to think, indeed, that the preacher was mad: for as they had not been accustomed to hear a minister pronounce the words *hell* and *devil* in his sermons, from the frequent use Mr. Williams made of these terms, they concluded that he was a wicked, swearing preacher, though in some parts of his discourse they thought he preached the gospel."²³

²²*Ibid.*, p. 97.

²³*Bangs: Vol. I, p. 73.*

The following year Williams visited Jarratt, who describes him as "a plain, simple-hearted, pious person, greatly blessed in detecting the hypocrite, razing false foundations, and stirring up believers to press after a present salvation from the remains of sin." Jarratt writes of his intercourse with Williams:

"I had much conversation with him concerning Mr. Wesley, and the nature and design of *Methodism*. He informed me that the Methodists were true members of the church of England—that their design was to build up, and not to divide the church—that the preachers did not assume the office of priests—administered neither the ordinances of *baptism*, nor the *Lord's Supper*, but looked to the parish ministers, in all places, for *these*.—that they travelled to call sinners to repentance—to join proper subjects in societies for mutual edification, and to do all they could for the spiritual improvement of these societies. Mr. Williams also furnished me with some of their books, and I became acquainted with the minutes of several of their conferences. By these means I was let into their general plan, and that '*He that left the church, left the Methodists*.'—I put a strong mark on *these words*.'"²⁴

The statement of Williams was in strict accord with John Wesley's celebrated "*Twelve Reasons Against a Separation from the Church of England*," one of which read, "Because it would be a contradiction to the solemn and repeated declarations, which we have made in all manner of ways, in preaching, in print, and in private conversation."

The idea of "societies" was no new thing to Jarratt, for he had been accustomed "to collect and meet the people for religious improvement" before the advent of Methodism in Virginia. Convinced that they had no hostility to the Church, and regarded themselves of her fold, he had no hesitation in encouraging their work and co-operating with them. He allowed their men to preach in his barn, but never in his church, and from time to time he attended and spoke at their meetings.

At that time the Methodist preachers were prohibited, by their own rules, from any administration of the Sacraments. Their first "regular" conference in America convened at Philadelphia, on July 4, 1773. Among the rules agreed to by all the preachers present were these two:

1. "Every preacher who acts in connection with Mr. Wesley and the brethren who labor in America, is strictly to avoid administering the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper."

²⁴Jarratt, p. 108.

2. "All the people among whom we labor, to be earnestly exhorted to attend the Church, and to receive the ordinances there; but in a particular manner to press the people in Maryland and Virginia to the observance of this minute."²⁵

So, from time to time, Jarratt administered the Lord's Supper to the Methodist preachers assembled in annual conference. The minutes of the conference of 1781 record the fact that he "attended the conference, and preached to the people with great power and acceptance, gave his advice in matters of importance, and administered the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper."²⁶

In 1776 not a few of the churches of "the establishment" were closed by reason of the War, so Jarratt notes "that the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper could not so conveniently be obtained in some places, as formerly." He adds:

"To remedy this inconvenience, some of the *lay-preachers* undertook to ordain themselves, and make priests of one another. This, I remember, they called a *step*—but I considered it as a prodigious *stride*; a most unwarrantable usurpation, and a flagrant violation of all order. This long step was taken, I believe, in 1777 or 1778. I previously advised them against the step—but to no purpose—my advice was treated with contempt—the trump of war was blown against me, their old friend and benefactor: and, you may be sure, dirt and filth enough were thrown at me, by these *self-created* priests and their adherents."²⁷

The constituted authorities of Methodism did not approve of such a step. The minutes of the General Conference of 1783 record this resolution: "Re-resolved to abide by the decision formerly made, not to administer the ordinances."²⁸

In the course of time the Evangelical cause in Virginia was checked. Jarratt himself was charged with "an itching palm," and it was bruited abroad that he was a "great money-sweeper." To these unfounded statements he answered:

"In all my travels and preachings before the revolution, I never received a single farthing—nor since, except when I have undertaken to supply a vacant parish statedly—but this has seldom happened: and once I was complimented with about ten dollars in South Carolina. Funeral sermons I have generally preached gratis, and marriages have not been very considerable."²⁹

²⁵Bangs: Vol. I, p. 79.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 142-3.

²⁷Jarratt, pp. 111-12.

²⁸Bangs: Vol. I, p. 79.

²⁹Jarratt, pp. 121-2.

These ugly rumors affected injuriously his standing in his own parish. He writes:

"Instead of crowded churches, as formerly, my hearers seldom exceed, on Sundays, one hundred and fifty, and, for the most part, hardly half that number. The communicants have decreased ten-fold. Love and harmony are gone—so that I have little satisfaction at communion seasons. In a word, there appears such a degree of shyness, coldness, and disaffection among the people, and they look so strange at me, that I can take no satisfaction in the company of any, except a few of the old standards. In this uncomfortable situation, I often call to mind better days, and with great sensibility repeat those lines in the 42nd Psalm:

'Tis with a mournful pleasure now,
I think on ancient days;
When to *the Church* did numbers go,
And all our work was praise.' ³⁰

There were other causes for the decline of Evangelical religion. About the middle of the eighteenth century the Baptists invaded Virginia. The first comers were known as "regulars"—the conservative element; between 1750 and 1760 they were followed by the radical element, known as "Separates." These, together with the Presbyterians and Methodists, "were all at variance with the spirit and practice of the establishment. An impartial historian writes of their attitude to the Church: "The criticism of the establishment was keen, and of all the critics the Baptists were most trenchant. The Anglican clergy came in for a denunciation which included their lives, their sermons and the performance of their duties." He goes on to say,

"It was into this dull and formal world that the evangelical missionaries came, preaching a new religion. Their sermons were not the rationalistic homilies of Anglican divines, but the burning, moving appeals of enthusiasts. . . . The poorer people, hitherto unreached by the establishment, were stirred to the core by the wandering Baptist preachers, who walked the highways and byroads, preaching in season and out and reproducing the apostolic age. The phenomena of the movement were such as mark all great revivals—hysteria, contortions, raptures, and even coma. The contrast between the overpowering sermons of the evangelists and the short prosy moral discourses of the Anglican ministers was great, and between the point of view of the two schools even greater, so that in time, as a result of the evangelical triumph, the 'new light' religion came

³⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 123-4.

to be considered the only valid form of Christianity, and the unworthiness of the old parsons grew into a sort of legend."³¹

To this untempered and wild evangelism the Baptists added bitter hostility to the Church, and later they were the main factor in the confiscation of the Glebes. In spite of his evangelical fervor these Baptists had no kindly feeling for Jarratt. He notes that "By their assiduity and continual inculcation of adult baptism, and unceasing disputes on the subject, they had shaken the faith of some, and gained them over to their party. The consequence was a total separation from the old church, and from all such as still adhered to her usages."³²

By the irony of circumstance Jarratt was most sorely wounded in the house of his friends—the Methodists. In Maryland and Virginia some of the preachers manifested a growing desire to administer what they called the "ordinances." Francis Asbury, and the preachers to the North, were equally strong in their opposition to any such innovation.³³ They remembered that John Wesley had stedfastly exhorted his adherents "to go to the Church for the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper." But circumstances favored the Southern preachers. The War had cut off communication with John Wesley and, with the exception of Asbury, all the English preachers had returned to their own country. The Americans were left in the saddle. At the conference of 1779 the older preachers were deputed to ordain ministers, and "Those who were thus ordained went out preaching and administering the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper to all who desired them, either for themselves or for their children; and thus was a breach made between the Northern and Southern preachers . . . the preachers at the North mourned over them on account of their departure from what they justly considered Wesleyan Methodism."³⁴

This action, local to Maryland and Virginia, was a stunning blow to Jarratt and one he never ceased to mourn. "They embraced," he writes, "a new faith, and it shewed itself, by their works, for from that memorable period, *old things were done away*, their *old mother* to whom they had avowed so much duty and fidelity, was discarded—violently opposed—Yea, it seemed as if they would have torn her from limb to limb, and deprive her of every *member*."³⁵ He himself did not escape: "You may be sure I have been well battered," and he adds,

³¹Eckenrode: *Separation of Church and State in Virginia*, p. 36.

³²Jarratt, pp. 105-6.

³³Bangs: *Vol. I*, p. 129.

³⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 130-31.

³⁵Jarratt, pp. 119-20.

"In good and candid truth, such a spirit has prevailed, and doth yet prevail, to increase and establish that *novel* institution, that the reputation of no man, however holy and useful he may be, has been too sacred, to escape the lashes of malignant tongues."³⁶

Truly, as he wrote on another occasion, "I before observed, that if I did err in giving countenance to the Methodists, on their first coming into Virginia, *they have since sufficiently* punished me for it."³⁷

Forsaken by the Methodists, and harassed by the Baptists, Jarratt found no consolation in his own Church. It had suffered severely in the War of the Revolution, and worse was to follow. In the year 1774 he records going to the convention at Williamsburg, where he "was distressed to hear some of the most sacred doctrines of Christianity treated with ridicule and profane burlesque."³⁸ After the signing of the treaty of peace with Great Britain, the Church in Virginia was incorporated, and he attended the convention of 1790, when James Madison was elected bishop, but concluded that "going to convention appeared a needless expence of time and treasure."

But, in spite of all her shortcomings, Jarratt never lost his large love for the Church of his deliberate choice. He writes to his old friend Archibald McRoberts, who had forsaken the Church for the Presbyterians,

"I dearly love the Church. I love her on many accounts—particularly for the three following. I love her because her mode of worship is so beautiful and decent, so well calculated to inspire devotion, and so complete in all parts of public worship. I love her, because of the soundness of her doctrines, creeds, articles, &c. I love her, because all her officers, and the mode of ordaining them, are, if I mistake not, truly primitive and apostolic. Bishops, priests and deacons were, in my opinion, distinct orders in the church, in her earliest and purest ages. These *three particulars*, a regular clergy, sound doctrine, and a decent, comprehensive worship, contain the essentials, I think, of a christian church. And as *these* are in the possession of the old church, I have been, and still am, inclined to give her the preference.—Her being at this time under a cloud, does by no means lessen my esteem for her: but on the contrary, I feel myself more attached to the Episcopal Church, since she lost her emoluments and the smiles of government, than ever I was before. 'A brother loveth at all times, and a friend was made for adversity.'³⁹

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 120.

³⁷Jarratt, p. 124.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 131.

³⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 152-3.

He draws a gloomy picture of the state of religion in Virginia.

"The prospect here, in Virginia, is gloomy and truly suspicious and discouraging.—Churches are little attended—perhaps in most places (I judge from report) not more than a dozen one Sunday with another; and sometimes half that number. This is indeed shocking, alarming, and distressing on many considerations,—as it goes to manifest, not only the low and still declining state of the Church, but also the little regard the people have for public worship of their Maker and Preserver, and for the salvation of their own souls.—It is true, as I hear, ministers are ordained from time to time, by our bishop; but I am not so happy as to hear that any of these men are, in reality, gospel ministers—you know what I mean. I am told also that the vestries, in different parishes, are still receiving ministers to officiate in their churches: but they are such ministers as the people will neither hear nor pay; consequently the whole burden must fall on the hands of the vestries, which they are not able to sustain. The consequence follows, that if the minister is not an independent man, he must be driven to seek new quarters, almost every year.

Nor, do I find the aspect of religious affairs much more encouraging in other societies, or denominations. There is an awful falling off on every hand.—True they have larger congregations, on Sundays, than our ministers have: and, in their public assemblies, they may frequently return thanks to heaven for their religious liberty and equality, privileges &c.—but I fear that are so far from making good use of these blessings, and duly availing themselves of their privileges, that many will have an accumulated account to render for misimprovement. By a letter from a pious Presbyterian minister, I learn that religion is at a low ebb among them. The baptists, I suppose, are equally declining. I seldom hear anything about them. The Methodists are splitting and falling to pieces—their religion seems to consist too much in party distinction, modes, rules, and usages of their own devising; and, indeed, most of the preachers they send out, and which I sometimes hear, appear to be so weak and unqualified for their business, I have less and less hope of any lasting or substantial good being done by their means."⁴⁰

Now were things much better in his own parish. Writing of his three churches, he says:

"I have little encouragement, you may be sure, to visit either of the three: for although we have, as yet, tolerable congregations, when the weather is good, and especially at Butterwood, where is generally the greatest congrega-

⁴⁰Jarratt, pp. 178-80.

tion, yet the word seems to have no effect. The people have set under the sound of it so long, that they appear gospel hardened, and proof against every motive and consideration that can be urged or enforced. However, when I consider that salvation belongeth unto God—that the conversion of sinners is a work of his power alone—that when he shall deign to take the work into his hand, the stoutest hearts must bend—that he does this work by the instrumentality of a preached gospel, and, that in the mean time that I am not accountable for the success of my own labours, I am still induced to hold on in calling sinners to repentance. Another thing which induces me to go to the churches, in this parish, is, because they are most convenient to me; and because I love to go to church. But when I go, and see, almost, the whole congregation, in the churchyard before the service, all engaged on worldly topics, or in trifling conversation—when I see them come in with such an air of indifference and irreverence—when I discover so little appearance of any design of joining me, heartily and sincerely, in the sacred exercises of the sanctuary—it tends to cool my zeal and spoil my own devotion—so that I seldom return from church, but with a heavy heart.”

“I know not how it may be in other *states*, but I consider the situation of a gospel minister, in this *state*, to be very forbidding and distressing. I have found it so, indeed, and still find it so, in an increasing degree: so that if duty and necessity laid not on me to preach the gospel—if a desire to please God and promote the best interests of mankind, did not compel, I see nothing that could induce me to hold the office any longer. I am not induced by the prospect of any temporal emolument, or reward—for I have no reason to expect this—but the contrary. I have no subscription in my favour, nor do I ask any.”⁴¹

So Devereux Jarratt passed to his eventide; distressed in mind and diseased in body. But though the outward man decayed; the inward man was renewed day by day. In 1795 he developed cancer of the face. On April 14 of that year he wrote “The Rev. Mr. John Coleman of Maryland”:

“The last winter and the present spring have afforded me but little leisure; my time has been employed in reading, writing and travelling. Old and afflicted as I am, I travelled more than one hundred miles last week, was at three funerals, each fourteen or fifteen miles from home—married two couples. . . . I went also to preach at Rocky-run church in Amelia—and on Sunday last I preached and administered the sacrament at *Butterwood*. Within less than three months, I think, I wrote about nine hundred

⁴¹Jarratt, pp. 184-86.

pages in quarto. Part of these I copied for the press—part I extracted and abridged—and part I composed in prose and poetry.— But now, it is probable, I have well nigh finished my work—at least the work of writing, and preparing anything for the press. Indeed, I have some cause to apprehend, that I may shortly be deprived of one of the greatest satisfactions of my life—I mean reading.— But the will of the *Lord* be done. With *his* blessing, life or death, prosperity or adversity will be gain to me.”⁴²

The following year he notes “little or no pain, but it is with difficulty I see to write.” “I wish,” he added, “to go to church every Sunday at least, to join in her most excellent system of public worship—a system to which I am particularly attached—because it is so noble, beautiful and complete in all its parts, and, in my judgment, well calculated to answer the end designed.”

Throughout the War of the Revolution Jarratt was stedfastly loyal to the American cause. One who knew him at that period writes, “By precept and example he encouraged frugality and economy and industry. I have often heard him recommend these virtues to his fellow-citizens, and even to go to *patch upon patch* rather than suffer their just rights to be infringed.”⁴³

He lived long enough to see the Church in Virginia pass through the fires of much tribulation. Her disestablishment cut off the main source of support for the clergy many of whom were compelled to earn a living in secular pursuits. Not a few of the churches were closed and despoiled. “Within our own times,” writes Hawks, “has the fact occurred that a reckless sensualist has administered the morning dram to his guests from the silver cup which has often contained the consecrated symbol of his Saviour’s blood.” Baptismal fonts were turned into watering troughs for cattle. Worst of all, the sheep of the flock were scattered on a thousand hills and deprived of the services and sacraments of the Church. Hungry and thirsty, their soul fainted in them.

Devereux Jarratt was “delivered from the disquietude of this world” on January 29, 1801. The days of his years were three-score and eight. He had served in the ministry of the Church in Virginia for thirty-eight years. Loving hands carried him into the upper chamber with the windows opening to the sunrising. And the name of the chamber was peace.

His funeral sermon was preached by his old friend, Bishop Francis Asbury of the Methodist church. In the course of the sermon, he said:

⁴²*Ibid.*, pp. 160-61.

⁴³*Meade: Old Churches and Families, Vol. I, p. 475.*

"He was a faithful and successful preacher. He had witnessed four or five periodical revivals of religion in his Parish.— When he began his labors, there was no other, that he knew of, evangelical ministers in all the province of Virginia. He travelled into several counties, and there were very few parish churches within fifty miles of his own, in which he had not preached: to which labors of love and zeal, was added the preaching of the word on solitary plantations, and in meeting-houses. He was the first who received our despised preachers. When strangers and unfriended, he took them into his house, and had societies formed in his parish. Some of his people became travelling and local preachers among us. I verily believe that hundreds were awakened by his labors. They are dispersed—some have gone to the Carolinas, to Georgia, to the western country—some perhaps are in heaven, and some, it may be, in hell."

So passed the first great Evangelical of the Church in the American Colonies; the first to light the altar-fire. It died down, but it never went out. The next generation stirred it again into a living flame.

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of the American Episcopal Church. By the Reverend William Wilson Manross, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of the General Theological Seminary. Morehouse Publishing Company, New York and Milwaukee. 1935. pp. 404.

The whole Church is indebted to the Morehouse Publishing Company for its venture in issuing a new history of the American Church during a period of acute economic depression. Such a book has long been needed. The two volumes of Bishop William Stevens Perry brought the story down to 1883. Long out of print, they are not easily obtainable. Valuable as they are, they are none the less rather beyond the general reader. Bishop Wilberforce's book was published in 1856 and is almost forgotten save by students. Then came McConnell's brilliant but not always accurate history. He originally planned to end with the Civil War. Realizing, as he wrote, that "the most difficult of all history to write is contemporaneous history," he somewhat reluctantly extended his account another twenty-five years, but stayed his hand about 1883. Archdeacon Tiffany's painstaking book ends with 1895. Hodges' "Three Hundred Years of the Episcopal Church in America" came out in 1907, and Professor Jenks' "The American Episcopal Church" in 1919. Each of these had severe limitations. Hodges' was just a popular outline; Jenks' avowedly "Interpreted for English Churchmen." It is more than forty years since a comprehensive history of this Church has been published. Much water has flowed under the bridge during those years. There have been great changes in the life and thought of the Church. We have witnessed the rise of Liberal Evangelicalism, the Buchman Movement, the later developments of Anglo-Catholicism, the Liberal Catholic Movement and Modernism. These are movements of vital importance and need to be put in their proper setting. Moreover, there have been important developments in missionary work, especially in our newer possessions, and radical changes in administrative policy, such as the creation of the National Council and an elective Presiding Bishop. There are new conceptions of Religious Education and a new Christian social consciousness. Hitherto we have had no book which links these modern developments with

our past history. This lack is supplied in the last chapter—"The Latest Phase"—in this volume under review. Mr. Manross excels in his contemporary history. It is detached, clear, intelligent and impartial.

The contents may be briefly summarized. The first nine chapters tell the story down to the War of the Revolution, including the period of Reconstruction, the early General Conventions and the consecration of Bishops Seabury, White, Provoost and Madison. Then follows a chapter on "Recuperation"—the period when the Church was slowly finding herself. In Chapter XI, "Revival and Expansion" are associated particularly with the episcopates of Hobart and Griswold. The beginnings of organized domestic and foreign missionary work are dealt with in Chapter XII. One illuminating chapter is devoted to "The Oxford Movement and After," covering first the inception of the movement in England and going on to describe its growth and influence in America. Chapter XIV discusses the effect of the Civil War on the Church and then passes on to an account of the rise of Ritualism and the long-drawn-out ritualistic controversy. Then follows in Chapter XV the rise of the Broad Church Movement and the growth of Anglo-Catholicism. The later missionary enterprises are adequately described in Chapter XVI, and in the last chapter the story is carried down to the General Convention of 1934. From this summary it will be seen that Mr. Manross has succeeded in embracing every important phase of the history of this Church covering a period from 1575 to 1934.

In a volume covering so long a period it is extraordinarily difficult to maintain the balance of relative importance in the narrative and there is room for difference of judgment. In the opinion of this reviewer, a lack of proportion is a major defect in this volume. One regrets that the author did not see his way to a more expansive account of the period of reconstruction from 1784 to 1789. One hundred and seventy-one pages are devoted to the colonial period when the Church here was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London—was in fact the Church of England; only thirty pages are given to those memorable years when the American Church was working out her own salvation. In those years she organized the General Convention; obtained the Episcopate; issued the first American Book of Common Prayer and adopted her first Canons. The evolution of the Constitution is one of the most significant things in the history of this Church. More space should have been given to "The Proposed Book," which though materially changed, is yet the basis of our Liturgy. A fuller account of these years would have been very acceptable even though it involved some curtailment of the colonial

period. Devereux Jarratt merits more mention than the mere statement of his ordination and the fact "that he served the Church for many years in his native State of Virginia." He was the first great Evangelical in this Church, the pioneer of a new movement the influence of which is still potent. The same applies to Joseph Pilmore, whose ministry in Philadelphia and New York was memorable. Only the outstanding events of the life of Bishop William Meade are mentioned; nothing is said of his large moulding influence at a critical period. It is amazing to find the name of the Rev. William Crosswell omitted entirely from the index, for surely he established the first Anglo-Catholic parish in America and demonstrated that there was a rightful place for such a parish in this Church. The paragraphs on the General Convention of 1835 should be rewritten and expanded. Scant justice is done to its importance. Its work was not limited to the reorganization of the missionary work and the election of missionary bishops. It was indeed, as Mr. Stowe described it in our last September number, "A Turning Point" in the life and work of the Church.

Some statements of fact may be questioned. The year of Meade's election as assistant Bishop of Virginia is incorrectly stated. The author describes Devereux Jarratt as having been associated "with the Methodists in his early years" (pp. 214-5). As a matter of fact Jarratt writes in his Autobiography: "I was wholly among the Presbyterians—had received all my knowledge of religion from them, was peculiarly attached to them and their Church and had no notion then of being a minister or member of any other" (p. 51). Jarratt's association with the Methodists came in later years, when he was accustomed to administer Holy Communion at their annual Conferences. The date of the advent of the first missionary to Florida is given as 1823. The Rev. Andrew Fowler of Charleston conducted services at St. Augustine in 1821. It is stated (p. 261) that missionary work in California began in 1850. On July 22, 1849, the Reverends A. Fitch and Flavel Mines conducted services in San Francisco and organized the parish of the Holy Trinity. On page 113 the author states that Mr. William Vesey, afterwards rector of Trinity Church, New York, had served as an "Independent minister at Hempstead." One is aware that such a statement was current among those who at that time were not friendly to the Church of England in New York. Dr. Morgan Dix, in his monumental *History of Trinity Parish*, devotes a whole chapter to a refutation of this statement. He shows that both Vesey and his parents were members of the Church of England at Braintree, Massachusetts; that Vesey continued that membership while at Harvard; that, pending age for ordination, he served as a

lay reader at Boston and Hempstead. The evidence as marshalled by Dr. Dix appears to be conclusive. On page 176 it is said that the Rev. Samuel Peters "came back after the war and divided his time between trying to become Bishop of Vermont . . ." Peters was actually elected Bishop of Vermont in 1794, when he was residing in England. Failing to obtain consecration, he remained in England ten years after his election and did not return to America until 1805. Mr. Manross follows the Connecticut tradition that Jeremiah Leaming declined the offer of the Episcopate "because of his advanced age" (p. 193). Leaming himself wrote Samuel Peters under date of June 1, 1786: "You ask me why I was not Bp of Con^t. I was bishop-elect by vote of the clergy here; but fearing the Chh might suffer under my poor abilities, caused me to answer *Nolo Episcopare*. Had I known that Dr S had so many personal enemies, I should not have given the answer I did." (HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Vol. I, p. 120.) The author's account of the "Proposed Book" is in one respect ambiguous. He writes (p. 195): "The work of revising the liturgy was continued by the committee . . . after the convention adjourned." The Journal shows that the Convention itself approved the book and recommended it to the use of the churches. White and Smith were appointed a committee to publish the book with a suitable preface. The committee was expressly enjoined from making any alteration "in form or substance." (Journal, 1785, Perry Edition, p. 28.)

One is inclined to question the whole treatment of the celebrated trial of Benjamin T. Onderdonk, Bishop of New York. In effect the responsibility for the prosecution is placed on the shoulders of the Rev. James C. Richmond, who was notoriously erratic. As a matter of fact the case was officially brought to the attention of the House of Bishops by two presbyters and three lay deputies from the dioceses of South Carolina and Georgia under the leadership of the Rev. Paul C. Trapier of Charleston. One cannot but regret the slur cast upon the witnesses by the author when he speaks of "the sort of women who would consent to appear in such a case" (p. 280). Over against this we may set the considered judgment of Bishop Hopkins of Vermont—the only member of the court who had been a member of the legal profession and a High Churchman to boot. He wrote, "Never in the course of many years' experience have I seen such a body of witnesses. Clergymen of unspotted reputation, their wives exemplary and blameless, communicants active and zealous of good works—such are the persons, on whose solemn oaths we have decided this afflicting issue."

These suggestions are not made in the spirit of captious criticism. Whatever errors there may be are possibly due to haste in preparing

the book and may be corrected in future editions. The author has done an excellent piece of work; his style is simple and clear, and the interest of the narrative is sustained throughout. His judgment alike of men and movements is discriminating. He is equally at home in describing High and Low Churchmen; the older Evangelicals and the early High Churchmen; the Liberal Evangelicals and the Liberal Catholics. He summarizes their position without bias. His pen pictures of Bishops like Griswold and Hobart are well drawn, though he is on occasion not sparing in describing the besetting sins of certain presbyters.

The Bibliography is good as far as it goes. It may be noted that Dix's *History of the Parish of Trinity Church* consists of four, not six, volumes. The statement that the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society published only one volume of *Collections* is incorrect. A second volume was issued in 1853. There are some notable omissions, such as the Rev. Jonathan Boucher's *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist: 1738-1789*; the Journals of the Conventions of the Church in the Confederate States, and Bishop Chesire's *History of the Church in the Confederate States*, both of which are indispensable for that period; Goodwin's *Colonial Church in Virginia*, Skirvel's *First Parishes in the Province of Maryland in 1692*, and Bishop Meade's *Old Churches, Ministers and Families in Virginia*. One misses any mention of Brewer's *History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church to 1835*. Under the head of Periodicals the omission of any Evangelical Church Paper is unfortunate. Surely *The Southern Churchman*, over a century old, might have found a place as well as the *Gambier Observer*. Bishop Hopkins' four trenchant essays on *The Novelties Which Disturb Our Peace* are not mentioned under the head of Pamphlets. Some additions should be made to the list of MSS. Notably the Judge Brinton Collection of the MSS of the Rev. Dr. William Smith, now in the custody of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and other papers of his at the University of Pennsylvania. The Samuel Peters' Papers deposited with the New York Historical Society are invaluable. No mention is made of Allison's *Inventory of Unpublished Material for American Religious History in Protestant Church Archives and Other Repositories*, nor is it noted that the Library of Congress has transcripts of the papers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. There are twenty-six volumes of Series A (1702-1737), and twenty-five volumes of Series B (1725-1782). One regrets that though the Jarvis Papers are listed, they were "not consulted." They are primary sources for the early Church in Connecticut, for the Seabury consecration, and for an understanding of "Connecticut Church-

manship." In spite of a few errors in paging, students will thank whatever gods there may be for the Index.

With a little revision and correction this should be a standard book for several years. One hopes that some day someone will write a narrative and critical History and do for the Church what Justin Winsor did for America. Meanwhile, this is a worthy successor to McConnell and Tiffany.

—E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

The Diocese of Western New York, 1897-1931. By G. Sherman Burrows. Published by the Diocese of Western New York. 1935. pp. 565.

Some thirty-two years ago the Rev. Charles Wells Hayes wrote a history of the diocese of Western New York from its beginnings down to 1896. It has long been regarded as an authority for a history of the Church in the western part of the State of New York. Commencing with a brief account of the Jesuit Missions from 1625 to 1759, it included the later work of the Church of England missionaries to the Indians. In 1797 the diocese of New York appointed the Rev. Robert Griffith Wetmore as a missionary to the western border and he was succeeded by Philander Chase, who founded several parishes, some of which continue to this day. His work was carried on by Davenport Phelps and Daniel Nash, who served throughout the entire region as itinerant missionaries. Under the vigorous leadership of Bishop John Henry Hobart the work increased by leaps and bounds, and in 1838 the diocese of Western New York was created. For the first time in the history of this Church there were two dioceses within the boundary of one State. The Hayes volume covered the period of the episcopate of William H. De Lancey, first bishop; his coadjutor and successor, Arthur Cleveland Coxe, and the creation of the diocese of Central New York. Now comes this massive volume from the pen of Dr. Sherman Burrows and published in connection with the centenary of the diocese to be celebrated in 1938. It is the product of long and careful research, lucid in style; impartial in its treatment of theological and ecclesiastical questions; wide in its sweep of human interest—a truly monumental work destined to stand in the front rank of our diocesan histories. The book begins with the episcopate of Bishop William D. Walker, who was translated to Western New York from the missionary bishopric of North Dakota. The story is carried on through the administrations of Charles Henry Brent, of blessed memory; David Lincoln

Ferris, down through the division of the diocese and covers the earlier days of Bishop Cameron J. Davis. As a necessary part of historical record one chapter is devoted to the celebrated Crapsey trial for heresy. Dr. Burrows holds the scales evenly in his account of the proceedings which led up to the trial, the trial itself and the subsequent appeal. After this lapse of time when passions have cooled it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in some particulars the conduct of the trial left much to be desired in the administration of justice. It certainly was unfortunate that when the proceedings—to use Dr. Burrows' phrase—were in the “offing,” the Bishop of the diocese indulged in a tirade against liberalism in the Church. Among the highlights of this book are the excellent pen sketches of the bishops of the diocese. The one of Bishop Walker is particularly illuminating and goes far to explain the Crapsey episode. Dr. Walker was a stiff high churchman of the Hobart type. Like Hobart he would have neither part nor lot in association with other Christian bodies. He believed equally in an infallible Church and an infallible Bible. Anything savoring of Rome was an abomination. Reluctantly tolerating white linen eucharistic vestments, colored vestments, bowings, candles were beyond the pale. As late as 1915 he ruled that “Reservation of the Sacrament has no authority.” On the other hand, “extempore prayers in public worship” he deemed “as objectionable as the Stations of the Cross or the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.” He ruled the clergy with an iron hand. Dr. Burrows writes:

“A clergyman on the street, without a clerical vest and collar, was an object of suspicion. If he participated in a non-episcopal service of public worship, he was a subject for discipline. Even active participation in the work of the Young Men's Christian Association was not to be encouraged: and membership in inter-denominational ‘Minister's Associations’ was allying oneself with anti-Church forces.

And so the way of the Cleric in the Diocese of Western New York, under Bishop Walker, if he was disposed to conform, was strait and well defined. His dress, in Church and out of it, his associations, his sympathies and interests, ecclesiastically, were all fixed.”

In other respects Dr. Walker made an admirable bishop. He cared much for the welfare of the parishes and especially for the mission churches. Clergy and laity alike respected him for the courage of his convictions. He was an excellent preacher and his confirmation addresses were fatherly and tender.

He was succeeded by Charles Henry Brent, saint and soldier. It would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast between two men

in points of view and methods of administration. Bishop Walker discouraged intercourse with other Christian bodies; Bishop Brent encouraged it by precept and example. With the advent of Bishop Brent inhibitions which had borne heavily on some of the clergy were raised and the whole diocese moved into the larger room of life and thought. In 1920 the Rev. David Lincoln Ferris was elected Bishop Suffragan, and later coadjutor. The two men worked in perfect harmony and the diocese responded joyfully. The most beautiful chapter is the one headed "Bishop Brent—The Man." With rare charm it subordinates the ever-changing circumstance of the outward life to an arresting insight into the inner man. Beginning his ministry in Buffalo he passed to the ordered and disciplined life under the direction of the Order of St. John the Evangelist in Boston. It was there that his deep mystical sense developed. While some of his friends were hoping for his election as Dean of the General Theological Seminary, there came the imperious call to the missionary episcopate of the Philippines. On that far-flung frontier he caught his first glimpse of world relationships. Of those days he wrote: "It was among those pagan peoples that I learned that equality before God of all men, which I count to be the chief treasure I have honestly made my own in my lifetime." In measured words Dr. Burrows traces the gradual emergence of Dr. Brent as a world figure and not least his creative leadership in the World Conference on Faith and Order. On the 27th day of March, 1929, he fell on sleep with a late lark singing in his heart. His passing was splendid and serene.

Under the guidance of Bishop Ferris the diocese of Western New York was divided, Rochester becoming the head of the new diocese. Such is the story told by Dr. Burrows with rich fulness. To it is added brief histories of the parishes; a detailed account of diocesan organizations and statistical studies of the growth of the diocese at different periods.

In a volume of this size some typographical errors are inevitable, and there are such; also an occasional misspelling of names—"Allison" for "Albion W. Knight"; "Buch" for "Burch." On page IX the date of the organization of the General Convention is given as 1784 instead of 1785. The diocese of Western New York is to be congratulated on the completion of its history to date, and on its discrimination in entrusting the task to Dr. Burrows, who has proved himself to be a competent and trustworthy recorder.

—E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

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THE REVEREND SAMUEL PETERS, M.A.,

MISSIONARY AT HEBRON, CONNECTICUT, 1760-1774

By Charles Mampoteng, M.A.

THE first town in the Connecticut colony to be named from the Bible was the tiny rural community of Hebron, so named by the Connecticut General Court in 1707, three years after its settlement. It developed very slowly under the proprietorship of the Saybrook Legatees, though settlers were invited from Long Island and the lower Connecticut region. A petition to the General Court in 1708 mentioned that only nine families were living at Hebron, and it was not till 1716 that the same body authorized the settling of a Congregational minister in that section of Tolland County. A native of Norwich and graduate of Yale in 1710, the Rev. John Bliss was accordingly ordained on November 19, 1717, and settled in Hebron. It was not long before charges of intemperance were brought against him, but the South Consociation of Hartford on November 16, 1731, found him not guilty of excessive drinking at a funeral, taking into account his previous sobriety and "considering the weather."

Part of the congregation decided in 1734 that a new meeting house ought to be built in the center of the town, "the plain of Mamre." As opposition to the plan developed, Bliss asked a dismission, which was granted, while two factions prepared for a bitter conflict over the matter. The "North" party, intent upon building the meeting house on top of a hill half a mile toward the north, chose Bliss as their teacher. He was soon indicted, found guilty, and fined for holding schismatic meetings in his home. The powerful "South" group held to the original site, and when a fanatic, Moses Hutchinson, Jr., set fire to the building, they laid taxes for a new edifice and the salary

of the Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy, their new teacher. Matters soon came to a startling conclusion, for while those who refused to pay the added rates were jailed, about twenty families joined with Bliss in 1735 in declaring for the Church of England. Bliss himself deeded the land atop the hill for S. Peter's Church, an edifice not completed till 1766. An invitation was extended to the Anglican missionary at New London, the elder Rev. Samuel Seabury, to take charge of the new parish. His visits to Hebron gained Seabury a £10 bounty, for he spent much time instructing the people, and at a Eucharist on August 1, 1736, there were fourteen communicants.

The converted Mr. Bliss acted as lay reader until his death at the age of fifty-two, on February 1, 1742, the eve of his departure for London and Holy Orders. From that time on, the Church in Hebron experienced the most discouraging setbacks, as each successive candidate sent abroad for ordination did not return. In order to provide the Gospel and an orthodox clergy for the English colonies in America, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was founded in 1701. This society appointed recommended ordinands to mission posts, subsidized either wholly or in part by the organization. It was to this society that the distinguished convert, Dr. Samuel Johnson of Stratford, wrote:

"Indeed ministers are very much wanted in several places, particularly at Symsbury and Hebron, in which last place Mr. Dean is very acceptable as reader and I beg the Society will be pleased to have it on their thoughts to provide for him in due time."¹

The congregation sent Barzillai Dean² abroad and he was ordained on November 21, 1745. Leaving shortly thereafter for home, he was unfortunately lost at sea early in the following year. For the ensuing six years the parish was under the nominal care of the Rev. Ebenezer Punderson,³ an itinerant missionary who preached and administered the sacraments at intervals.

As the years went by, the parish grew stronger till in 1747 the General Assembly divided the town into four ecclesiastical societies, those of Gilead, Andover, Marlborough and Hebron. While each of these four groups settled a minister of its own, S. Peter's Church stood isolated in the center of the town, without a resident pastor. Seabury's successor at New London was the Rev. Matthew Graves, an

¹Johnson to S. P. G., October 5, 1742 (H. W. Schneider, "Samuel Johnson," III, 232).

²Rev. Barzillai Dean (1714-46), Yale 1737; made first communion in August, 1735, at Stratford Church; appointed itinerant missionary for Derby and Waterbury.

³Rev. Ebenezer Punderson (1710-80), Yale 1726; Holy Orders 1734; at Hebron 1746-1752; at New Haven 1753-62; at Rye, N. Y., 1762-80.

Englishman who was instructed to visit Hebron occasionally, but his authority was denied by the people. Graves was nevertheless determined that "as long as I solely am intrusted with Hebron, I will study to promote their good."⁴ There is, however, the sworn testimony of two Hebronites who claimed Graves was not sure of his authority, but

"turning to a man he said he would give him leave to tuck of his ear if he did not get authority over Hebron Church in six months."⁵

His severe views often bringing him into collision with the people, Graves soon found a popular adversary in the person of Jonathan Colton. A Yale graduate of 1745, Colton began his career as lay reader at Hebron in 1748, at the age of twenty-two.

Graves repeatedly complained to the Bishop of London, while Dr. Henry Caner of King's Chapel in Boston, heartily commended Colton when that young man set out for ordination.⁶ That there was a good bit of hard feeling can be understood from the sworn testimonies, such as that wherein Colton was said to have threatened to break Graves' head⁷ if he dared enter Hebron Church again. Graves felt it his duty to "prevent ye Encrease of False Prophets," and protested the ordination on the ground that Colton officiated contrary to Graves' wishes, preached his own sermons rather than the homilies, that he held private parish meetings and produced perjured testimony⁸ in a law suit. Colton, however, was accorded ordination in 1752 but never entered upon the duties of his mission, for he died of smallpox on the voyage home. Although Graves' charges had greatly offended the Bishop of London, he was convinced of his own integrity and having prayed for a new heart for Colton, he could easily believe "my prayers were heard and hope he dyed in ye Love of God."⁹

Convinced that the struggling mission was not receiving adequate care, Dr. Johnson wrote to the Society on March 25, 1754, that

"I also extremely pity poor Hebron, that good people are yet

⁴Graves to Johnson, June 18, 1748 (Schneider, "Johnson," I, 131). Rev. Matthew Graves (—1780) from England; at New London 1747-79; beaten in pulpit for using royal prayers during the Revolution; he spurned an offer made on November 14, 1778, to reopen the church if he would omit the prayers; was allowed to go to New York 1779; died of apoplexy on April 5, 1780, while officiating in S. George's Chapel.

⁵Affidavit of John Peters and Nathan Rowles, January 31, 1751 (Roger Wolcott Papers in Connecticut Historical Society Collections, v, 16).

⁶Caner to London, October 15, 1751 (Fulham Palace Transcripts, in Library of Congress).

⁷Affidavit of Reuben Hutchinson, April 4, 1754 (Fulham Trans.).

⁸Graves to London, December 23, 1754 (Fulham Trans.).

⁹Graves to London, May 29, 1754 (Fulham Trans.).

destitute and no candidate appears to go for them. I wish some encouragement could be given them."

A third candidate finally did attempt the arduous trip abroad, being James Usher, the local catechist. The son of the missionary at Bristol, Rhode Island, young Usher graduated from Yale in 1753 at the age of twenty, only to die of smallpox four years later. Captured on the high seas by the French, he was imprisoned in a Bayonne castle, where he contracted the fatal malady. Great were the lamentations occasioned by this distressing situation, but soon the Hebron Church was heartened, for a young man who had been

"brought up to the law and was extremely popular in the country—on a sudden—forsook the bright example of his pious republican ancestors, repaired to England, and renouncing the independent faith, received holy ordination from the Lord Bishop of London."¹⁰

Samuel Peters, the tenth child of John and Mary Peters, was born on December 1, 1735, in Hebron. Descended from Andrew Peeters,¹¹ who had landed in Boston in 1659 and later established his family at Andover, Massachusetts, the future clergyman was to invent a more distinguished ancestry. His father, John, who had married in 1717, established a line of the Peters family in Connecticut soon after his marriage. John Peters built a house in Hebron in 1740 and was a Churchman, being on the 1745 Church of England tax list. The infant Anglican society in the town was cheered in 1746 by John Peters' deeding thirty acres¹² for a glebe to a committee headed by the Rev. Ebenezer Punderson, itinerant missionary in the colony. The early education of Samuel Peters was acquired in the Hebron Grammar School, while in 1757 he emerged from Yale College with his bachelor's degree. While Samuel was still in college his father died and upon the December 2, 1754, probate of his will, John Peters was found to have bequeathed £1000 to his son Samuel.

Finding the desire to help "the poor and unfortunate of Hebron" most compelling, the modest Peters declared his intention to seek Holy Orders, with the parish vestry hastily petitioning the Society on September 29, 1758. Rehearsing the good features of the mission, the vestry gave its bond that its contribution of £30 would be regu-

¹⁰Peters "History of Jonathan Trumbull" (*Political Magazine*, January, 1781.)

¹¹Andrew Peeters (1634-1713) m. 1659 Mercy Beamsley (1637-1726) had 7 children; William Peters (1672-96), son of Andrew and Mercy, m. 1694 Margaret Russe, had 1 child; John Peters (1695-1754), son of William and Margaret, m. 1717 Mary Marks (1698-1784) had 10 children.

¹²Deed of John Peters, September 25, 1746 (*Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Transcripts in Library of Congress*).

larly paid to the resident missionary. At the Society's meeting of February 23, 1759, it was agreed that dependent upon ordination, Peters would be appointed to the post at Taunton, with a £20 subsidy. Late in 1758 Peters set out for London, armed with recommendations, including one from the Rev. Matthew Graves, dated September 28, 1758, urging his friend's appointment. The rather vague commendation given by Dr. Samuel Johnson on October 25th reflected the college president's impression of the candidate, rather than personal knowledge. In later Peters writings, the extravagant assertion was made that, besides numerous testimonials addressed to important English personages, Peters carried one from Johnson at King's College, "where Mr. Peters had been a tutor."¹³ Actually Peters did not tutor in New York, nor did he ever study theology with Johnson, as has been supposed.

Upon his arrival in London, the bewildered colonial rustic was deeply impressed with that metropolis and evinced great awe of ecclesiastical personages, giving occasion for Archbishop Secker's anecdote:

"When Mr. Peters from Hebron in Connecticut waited on his Grace with his letters on his first arrival in England, on seeing him enter the Room with 2 servants bearing his Train, etc., Peters was overwhelmed with such an Awe that he was unable to speak, so much as to answer any common Question. The Archbishop observing his Confusion, seated him in a chair by his side and spoke to him words to this Effect, 'Mr. P. you have come from New England and I suppose you look upon an Archbishop to be something more than human; but I am as much a mortal Creature as yourself and you have no reasons to be awed at my Presence'—putting his Hand on Peters' knee at the same time in the most familiar Manner, and even patting his cheek. This kindness and condescension had the intended effect; Mr. P. soon recovered the Use of his Tongue and Senses; and ever afterwards conversed with his Grace with great Ease and Freedom."¹⁴

On March 11, 1759, the Bishop of Chester, acting for the Bishop of London, ordained Peters a Deacon, whereupon the ordinand fell deathly ill with smallpox, an ordeal which left him noticeably pock-marked. During his confinement, Peters was attended by the Archbishop's personal physician, the prelate paying the seventy-five guineas fee. Having little cash at hand, Peters begged the Society's

¹³Peters "Early History of S. Peter's Church," edited by W. H. Bell (Conn. State Lib.).

¹⁴Chandler, T. B., *Manuscript Diary* (April 11, 1777) in *General Theological Seminary Library*.

aid, with the result that on May 18, 1759, it was voted to give him £20 for "expenses in the smallpox."

Once upon his feet again, Peters was ordained a Priest on August 25th by the Bishop of London. The Bishop generously ordered Peters to preach his first sermon in the Church of St. Sepulchre in London, where Hugh Peters, his reputed "great uncle," had preached. Refusing the offer of a London living, Peters accepted the £19.7.6 royal bounty given all American ordinands appointed missionaries of the Society, and set out for his native shores. Shortly after his arrival, Peters married Hannah Owen of Hebron, but after bearing him three children, alas,

"my once agreeable consort was taken sick soon after Christmas 1764 with a consumption & so continued until ye 25 of Octobr last & then changed this contending world for one far better, of which same disease died one of my children—kind Providence has left me one little child to help me bear my tryals."¹⁵

His second wife, Abigail Gilbert, died on July 14, 1769, only twenty days after the wedding, departing this life

"by an Illness termed by the Physicians an improper Chorea Sonata Viti, after 5 days illness to the inexpressible Grief of her Consort, Parents . . ."¹⁶

The young parson was quite acceptable to his clerical neighbor Graves, for on December 13, 1760, that missionary reported that Peters was painstaking and well behaved. In his own first report to the Society, Peters rehearsed the difficulties of consolidating his parish amid the open opposition, with

"the people belonging to the Church at Hebron seem religiously attentive to my instructions—the dissenters tho very spiteful at my coming home, doing all they could to destroy my Character, taking many groveling ways to prevent my service."¹⁷

Not content to work at home with his thirty-one families, Peters traveled about, stopping at Taunton, Sharon, Norwich, Simsbury, Middletown, Bolton and Glassenbury. These efforts were rewarded

¹⁵*Peters to S. P. G., May 12, 1766 (Francis L. Hawks Transcripts, in New York Historical Society). Hannah Owen (1740-65) had three daughters: Hannah (December 19, 1760-March 2, 1761); the only survivor, Hannah Delvena (January 2, 1762-September 20, 1845), married 1786 to Captain William Jarvis, later Secretary of Ontario; Elizabeth (January 19, 1764-August 27, 1765).*

¹⁶*Hartford Courant, July 24, 1769.*

¹⁷*Peters to S. P. G., April 13, 1761 (Libr. Congress).*

when the Society at its meeting of October 1, 1761, voted Peters a £10 gratuity and recommended an increase in salary. Further notice was given Peters, when at the June 3, 1761, commencement of King's College in New York, Peters was admitted a Master of Arts.¹⁸ In September, 1764, he was called upon to preach the local election sermon, a tribute to conscientiously prepared pulpit utterances. The same missionary zeal flamed high in Peters during his Hebron incumbency, for in the first years he traveled some two thousand miles, ministering and preaching

"willingly for the prospect before me, and am willing to persevere and will, as long as my health and purse will permit, the former being very high, the latter very low."¹⁹

As compensation, the Society on April 15, 1763, raised his stipend to £30, adding a £20 gratuity.

Subscriptions toward completing the church at Hebron steadily rolled in, while occasionally Peters could boast of obtaining legacies. A bequest long due, owing to the machinations of grasping dissenters,²⁰ was settled in 1764, while in the following year a Dr. Samuel Shipman of Hebron left a property legacy²¹ of some size. The church, measuring 38 feet by 30 feet, was completed in 1766, when the parish numbered fifty-six families, despite the opposition teachings that

"the Church is the Sinagogue of Satan & if you have a mind to go to Hell—go to Church.—thus I live to fight Spiritual wickedness in high Places & by the Goodness & Veracity of God, the Gates of Hell have not prevailed against his Church."²²

Hostile civil authorities took pleasure in embarrassing Churchmen, and on Easter Day, 1765, a public fast was appointed, which the Hebron Churchmen ignored, in the absence of Peters. As a result eight members were cited for contempt, with Peters observing that "we are stigmatized if we observe not our own Days & punished if we do," going on to publicly inquire in the *Courant* for May 26, 1769:

"The Rubrick of the Church of England confirmed by act of Parliament enjoins me to rejoice and be exceeding glad upon Sundays, Christmas and Holy Days. I cannot serve two masters, of the twain whom shall I serve?"

¹⁸*Matricula of King's College* (Schneider, "Johnson," IV, 248).

¹⁹*Peters to S. P. G., December 24, 1762* (*Libr. Congress*).

²⁰*Peters: "A Death-Bed Discovery of Bostonian Virtue and Honesty"* (*Political Magazine*, October, 1781).

²¹*Peters to S. P. G., March 15, 1765* (*Libr. Congress*).

²²*Peters to S. P. G., June 26, 1771* (*Libr. Congress*).

The familiar events relating to the so-called Stamp Act passed by Parliament in 1763 need not be dwelt upon, but the loyal submission of Anglicans in New England generally to a distasteful measure was notable. In Hebron, under the direction of Priest Peters, the Churchmen

"shunnd any connections & openly condemned them, declaring they feared God & the King more than all the threats of his rebellious gang, whose furious fanatic motions gave us grounds to say we were in perils among false brethren. It, however, has this good consequence; the storm being over, those changelings have room to reflect & as boldly now applaud us for our bold stand as they condemned us heretofore."²³

It will be recalled that a prosperous New Haven lawyer, Jared Ingersoll, came home as provincial Stamp Master, only to be forcibly convinced that his resignation of the post on September 19, 1765, was imperative. While this successful intimidation was progressing at Wethersfield, a mob in Lebanon joyously set up effigies of the devil, Mr. Grenville and Mr. Ingersoll. As the figures were hung, fires were built and the sport went on till midnight, when it was suggested that "Ingersoll" be buried in Hebron with Parson Peters officiating. Peters spoiled the fun by refusing to be made sport of or to bury a dissenter.²⁴ Armed protection was necessary for Peters then, though he scornfully wrote:

"The peasantry I have often heard say that they had rather (notwithstanding their religious tenets are bent upon John Calvin's wheel) be under the government of the Pretender, the French, Dutch or Spanish Monarchies than to submit to acts of a British Parliament or an American Episcopate—the fanatic mob will judge my life too cheap a victim to pacify their belching stomachs."²⁵

On February 28, 1770, the New York Council decided to form a new county, Gloucester, north of Cumberland County in New Hampshire, to provide protection for pioneer settlers. This new county attracted the roving eye of Peters, who at the age of thirty-five, believed the end of his earthly days²⁶ was soon at hand. Dissatisfied with Hebron's neglect of its ecclesiastical obligations, Peters sought a

²³Peters to S. P. G., December 26, 1766 (Hawks).

²⁴Peters: "General History of Connecticut" (1877 ed.), p. 233 note.

²⁵Peters to S. P. G., June 25, 1768 (Hawks). Peters to S. P. G., March 25, 1767 (Hawks)—"I am at this time only able to say of my Native Land it is the Bowels of Contention, where Faction is State Policy and every Religion—where little Conventicles are plodding and as captious as a little Kirk—each guided by their different Gods and to compleat my ancient news, Oliver is risen from the dead, or was a convict and so transported over here—unfortunate America."

²⁶Peters to S. P. G., June 26, 1770 (Libr. Congress).

transfer to another post, while it was reported to the Society that Peters had gone on to a better living²⁷ after preaching a farewell sermon in Hebron. Nothing came of this casting about, for in 1770 the small society at Hartford was added to his care. Peters had often preached to the poor farmer folk in the local courthouse and the first Eucharist was celebrated on March 2, 1766. The first funeral service took place on June 9, 1766, for the victim of an explosion at the school-house celebration of the Stamp Act Repeal.

The Anglican clergy in the colony met in regular conventions, and on June 5, 1765, Hebron was the convention town. Peters was a signatory of the petition drawn up at that time, urging the establishment of a colonial episcopate. At the Litchfield convention of June 13, 1770, the sermon was preached by Peters and later published as Peters made a strong bid for allegiance to the Crown. This convention authorized a missionary tour along the Connecticut River as previously proposed²⁸ by Peters, and he soon set out to preach to the scattered frontiersmen along both sides of the river. Proceeding west, Peters crossed the Green Mountains and finally reached Fort Miller on the Hudson River, then followed the Mohawk River, preaching at Schenectady, Albany, etc., before crossing Connecticut on the way home, having covered eight hundred miles.

Peters found time, however, to marry Mary Birdseye, the twenty-three-year-old daughter of a Stratford farmer, on April 23, 1773. But this marital bliss was terminated on June 16, 1774, when his third wife died, eleven days after the birth of a son, William Birdseye Peters. Having contracted an advantageous marriage, Peters again sought a transfer²⁹ to a more genteel parish, such as that of Portsmouth in New Hampshire, the incumbent having died on June 10, 1773. But great was Peters' disappointment when on June 17, 1774, the Society refused to transfer him, but calling for an account of the Hebronites' shortcomings concerning the glebe. The neglect shown by the parish did not enter into the financial considerations of Peters, for he was a gentleman of property, despite disparaging propaganda fostered by the Whig adherents. It was, however, admitted by friend and foe that Peters did live in some splendor,³⁰ while his charity and hospitality were widely appreciated. He personally managed an estate of a thousand well cultivated acres in Hebron, with seven dwellings upon them, nine barns, five cowhouses, three cider mills, a dairy house, smoke house, etc., the buildings being valued at £2960.

²⁷Graves to S. P. G., April 28, 1771 (*S. P. G. Journal of November 15, 1771*).

²⁸Peters to S. P. G., January 1, 1770 (*Libr. Congress*).

²⁹Peters to S. P. G., September 10, 1773 (*Libr. Congress*).

³⁰Wattles to Thorp, July 24, 1783 (*Public Record Office, Audit Office 13/42, photostat in Libr. Congress*).

In order to give a comprehensive view of Peters' establishment as of August, 1774, a few items, taken from his sworn schedule to the Loyalist Claims Commission⁸¹ are here given, with their currency values as set forth:

<i>Household Furniture</i> total £1248.		24 Hay Rakes	1.16
1 Feather Bed & Suit	£ 40.	4 Iron Rakes	1.
3 Feather Beds as above	120.	1 Crosscut Saw, hand	
10 " " @ £20.	200.	saws	2.10
4 " " @ £10.	40.	10 Scythes, sickles	10.
4 Looking Glasses	36.	Chizils, augurs,	
12 " "	18.	wedgers	10.
24 Mahogany Chairs	48.	4 Grindstones	4.
36 Walnut tree "	18.	Wheat fans,	
24 Common "	4.	winnowers	4.
4 Mahogany Chests	60.	Hay Knives & forks	6.
2 " Scrutores	16.	Tanned Leather	10.
4 " Bureaux	16.	Horse Cart, Wheel-	
2 " Bookcases	20.	barrows	6.
1 " Wardrobe	10.	<i>Provisions</i> total £1141.13.4	
6 " Square		10 barrels Pork	£ 30.
Tables	18.	5 " Beef	11.5
6 " Small		4 tubs Soap	6.
Tables	9.	Hungbeef, hams &	
5 Sealskin Trunks &		bacons	30.
5 Common Chests	5.	10 firkins Butter	10.10
3 pair Handirons,		10 hogshead Cider	20.
Tongs, etc.	10.	Sugar, rum, wine,	
6 Carpets	20.	brandy, etc.	100.
House Linen	50.	2000 weight Cheese	25.
Culinaries	100.	2000 " Flour	15.
Laiterics	50.	1000 " Rye Flour	6.
Plate	100.	200 bushels Wheat	45.
China	15.	200 " Rye	33.15
Crockery	10.	300 " Indian Corn	33.15
Glass	5.	10 " Malt	2.5
10 pair Window curtains	20.	400 " Oats	20.
Library (2000 vols.)	150.	100 " Buckwheat	10.
Brass Clock	10.	20 " Beans	4.10
Gold watch (taken by		20 " Peas	4.10
mob in Sept.,		400 " Potatoes	30.
1774)	30.	600 " Wheat not	
<i>Farming Utensils</i> total £ 378.16		threshed	135.
6 Men Saddles	£ 12.	525 " Rye (same)	118.2.6
1 Lady Saddle	7.10	1200 " Oats "	45.
1 Coach Slay, steel		60 " Barley (same)	17.12.6
sliders & harness	30.	1000 " Indian Corn	
3 Iron shod Carts	45.	(same)	112.10
1 Waggon	20.	400 " Buckwheat	40.
1 Bug Cart	6.	(same)	
4 Ox Sleds	6.	130 tons Hay (barn &	
10 Ploughs & Irons	20.	ricks)	195.
Ditching tools	5.	100 Cider Barrels	7.10
12 Ox Yokes & Irons	20.	20 " Hogsheads	6.
3 Iron Drags	8.	1 Barrel Honey	5.
16 Ox Chains	16.	Beeswax, spermaceti,	
5 pair Horse geers	10.	etc.	17.15
6 Iron Crows, 6 Levers	6.	1 Chaise with harness	75.
12 Hoes	2.5	1 Whisky with a cap	15.
12 Wood Axes	2.5	1 Common Slay iron	
		shod	7.10

⁸¹Peters' Memorial, February 9, 1784 Schedule (P. R. O., A. O. 13/42, Libr. Congress).

<i>Negroes & Live Stock</i> total	£1316.	1 Stallion	40.
40 Cows	200.	3 Draught Mares	30.
10 yoke Oxen, 40 meat		5 Breeding Mares	100.
Cattle	300.	4 Colts	30.
20 weaned Calves	15.	36 Beehives	81.
100 Sheep	50.	3 Negro Men & 3 Negro	
40 sucking Lambs	6.	Women	300.
70 Swine	70.	3 Negro Children born	
2 Geldings	50.	in the house
1 Black Mare	44.		

Not only was Samuel Peters a gracious gentleman of large land holdings, but he was also the local banker,³² and with the added prestige of his clerical position, he became an admirable object for pre-war patriot solicitude. The succession of events in Boston challenging Parliamentary authority need not be recalled at this point, except to note that as a result of the so-called tea party in Boston Harbor on December 16, 1773, a number of punitive "Intolerable Acts" were passed in March, 1774, by Parliament. Among other measures, the port of Boston was closed to trade till the tea damage was paid, but enforcement of the edict resulted in wide colonial sympathy, particularly in neighboring Connecticut. In that colony, Governor Jonathan Trumbull promptly circularized town meetings, asking contributions to a general fund to support the "poor and distressed" people of blockaded Boston. The meeting in Hebron resolved into a session of bickering, as Peters and a gentleman convert led the opposition to the proposed fund, the fiery parson proclaiming:

"As the good people of Boston had destroyed the tea, the private property of the East India Company, they ought to pay for it; and then if their port was not opened he would give them 1000 sheep and 10 fat oxen, but until they had paid for the tea, he should not willingly bestow any thing upon them."³³

Peters proceeded to accuse Governor Trumbull of being too premature in his requests, especially since Boston townspeople were free to move in and out of town. When put to a vote, the proposal was overwhelmingly defeated in Hebron, as was the case in Hartford, due to Peters' efforts. So upset was the governor that, according to Peters, he issued a proclamation to be read in every meeting house on Sunday, August 14, 1774, denouncing Peters as an enemy to the colony, a spy and correspondent of bishops. The ministerial harangues fired the people of Windham County with the ambition to storm the Hebron parsonage, while further information was volunteered that

³²*Testimony of John Peters, July 29, 1786 (P. R. O., A. O. 13/42—Libr. Congress).* The schedule of notes and bonds owed Peters in September, 1774, showed a total of £1716 currency, £1287 sterling.

³³Peters: "History of Jonathan Trumbull" (*Political Magazine*, January, 1781).

Peters regularly wrote reports to the bishops "big with reflections upon the colony." Accordingly the town committee of Bolton and three hundred neighbors set out, to arrive in Hebron at sunrise on August 15th and rouse Peters. Having announced their mission, a committee was invited inside to look at copies of letters, but nothing incriminating was found beyond a set of resolves. The men quietly left with Peters' thanks for the consideration³⁴ they had shown. But when Peters described the events in his memorial to the Loyalist Claims Commission, he told of an unruly mob, four thousand strong sent by the governor to force his signature to the covenant. The charge was also made that personal papers were carried off, while a deposition made by two visitors in Peters' home at the time affirmed that Peters was illegally terrorized and abused by hoodlums. Before the Bolton committee departed, however, they obtained Peters' written declaration³⁵ that he had not and would not write to any English personages about the political controversy.

The set of thirteen resolutions which were printed in the *New London Gazette* for September 2, 1774, and entitled the "Hebron Resolves," was allegedly drawn up by the community. Actually Peters had run them off in characteristically offensive style, yet expressing a good deal of balanced reasoning anent the tea question. But what inflamed the patriot readers was the way Peters lashed out at the Windhamites who had maligned Governor Thomas Hutchinson, and, secondly, the withering attack upon the Farmington mob, "convened for that glorious purpose of committing treason against the King." On Sunday, September 4th, the post arrived with news that Boston was on fire and General Gage's redcoats were killing old men and babies. Ardent volunteers filled the ranks as the call to arms was sounded and a detachment prepared to march on Boston. Sensing the uneasiness of his congregation as the volunteers marched by, Peters masterfully counselled his flock not to start a treasonous war³⁶ on good General Gage, with the result that Churchmen ignored the clamor.

Such action endeared Peters to the zealots in Windham County, who took it upon themselves to rush to Hebron on September 6th and challenge the parson to justify his statements. In a later version, Peters claimed that the governor sent his son along with a mob of three thousand Windhamites to force his acceptance of the Solemn League and Covenant, a denial of royal and parliamentary supremacy.

³⁴*Report of Committee, November 29, 1774 (Jonathan Trumbull MSS., V. 4, Part 1, in Conn. State Lib.); also American Archives, 4 ser. I, 716.*

³⁵*Amer. Archives, 4 Ser., I, 714.*

³⁶Peters: "Narrative of Mobbing" (*Archives of the General Convention of Protestant Episcopal Church—Manuscripts of the Rev. Samuel Peters; in New York Historical Society*).

Peters refused to comply and went out on the stoop of his house to harangue the crowd of three hundred, but oratory was not sufficient. Furthermore, the committee had been assured that only two rusty guns were in the house,³⁷ but when a gun was discharged in the excitement a search yielded guns, pistols, clubs and swords hidden away. Immediately Peters was rushed off his feet, his robes were torn and in the tussle his brothers and mother were wounded. Cheered by talk of tar and feathers and hanging, Peters was put on a horse and rushed to the meeting house three-quarters of a mile away, "naked as he was all but the breeches." Incidentally, some years later, Sylvester Gilbert of Hebron found Peters' torn surplice and sent it to the exile as a monument to mob madness.³⁸

The crowd having assembled around the horse-block in the rear of the edifice, Peters was forced to read a prepared statement³⁹ renouncing his previous inflammatory writings and asking

"the forgiveness of all whom I have offended, promising for the future as far as in me lies, to circumspect my conduct, that it shall be agreeable to the rules of Christianity."

Satisfaction having been gained, the crowd released the bedraggled Peters, who went to David Barbour's house to put on clean clothes. The excited victim gave two versions of the events in later years, crediting his release to the intervention of an armed group of forty friends who threatened to shoot⁴⁰ unless Peters was released. The second version of the mobbing given in a memorial of November 25, 1782, credited Peters' release to the suggestion that the parson was insane and so allowed to be carried home by his negroes. On the day following his public humiliation, Peters called on Governor Trumbull at Lebanon for satisfaction,⁴¹ but was advised to sign the proffered covenant if he sought tranquility. Substantially the same answer was given by the Superior Court at Hartford on September 8th, and by the twelve magistrates in New Haven. Trumbull did, however, write to the civil authorities in Hebron as well as to John Phelps, the justice of the peace in Hartford County, urging that peace and order be maintained, particularly as

"Mr. Peters shews himself greatly affected and says he is

³⁷*Report of Committee, December 6, 1774 (Amer. Archives, 4 Ser., I, 717).*

³⁸*Gilbert to Peters, October 26, 1796 (Peters Ms.).*

³⁹*Connecticut Gazette, September 16, 1774.*

⁴⁰*Peters Memorial, December 6, 1783 (P. R. O., A. O. 13/42, Libr. Congress).*

⁴¹*Peters to Auchmuty, February 25, 1775 (Peters Ms.).*—"Trumbull set on the mobs upon me. Before I applyd for protection of him, Dr. Payne told me of it 3 times with a loud voice, after they had taken me out of my house & stripped me, in these words, Governor Trumbull will not protect you, for he told us this morning to come & give it to you; September 8th the Governor owned it to me & added that he told Payne not to hurt my person or interest."

well affected to our Liberties and will do nothing to detriment the Cause thereof."⁴²

Having traveled the forty-five miles to New Haven, Peters looked up Dr. James Hillhouse, who sent him along to the Rev. Bela Hubbard, their mutual friend and the missionary of the S. P. G. in that place. Hubbard welcomed his colleague but sent his own family to neighbors as a precaution, for the local druggist, smuggler and soldier of fortune, Colonel Benedict Arnold, had brutally attacked local Sandemanian loyalists. A straggly crowd led by Arnold did put in an appearance at the parsonage about ten o'clock that particular evening, only to find the gate locked and Peters on guard with a musket. The embattled cleric had assembled some twenty loaded muskets to be used by his friends while awaiting help promised by Dr. Hillhouse, but this grandstand play and threat of violence sent the patriot heroes home. Half an hour later another group, led by Colonel Thomas Wooster, appeared, only to be dispersed in a like manner. Obviously it was best to make a quiet exit from New Haven, and this Peters did, going disguised with a servant to Branford, where friends had placed horses at his disposal. He procured a boat, crossed an arm of the sea, traveling near shore two days and two nights, making a round-about circuit of some eighty miles via Saybrook.

At midnight, Saturday, September 18th, he slipped into his ravaged house, but was seen by twelve men posted about as sentinels. He rested and then boldly appeared in his pulpit on Sunday morning to preach, despite warnings of mob violence. Peters also preached in the afternoon from the text:

"Oh that my head were waters and mine eyes a fountain of tears that I might weep day and night for the transgressions of my people."

Towards evening he said a hurried good-bye to his mother, whom he was never again to see, entrusted his children to her care, hid his sealed will in the sleeve of his last wife's wedding gown,⁴³ and with only a few shirts and five guineas departed from his home. In addition to his young daughter, Peters abandoned his infant son, William Birdseye Peters,⁴⁴ who was carefully nurtured by his grandmother until as a young boy his education was entrusted to the joint efforts of the Rev. Bela Hubbard, the Rev. Richard Mansfield and his maternal grandfather. As a lad of fourteen, William Birdseye Peters journeyed down

⁴²*Boston Evening Post*, November 7, 1774.

⁴³*Peters to Mann*, February 14, 1785 (Conn. State Library).

⁴⁴*William Birdseye Peters (1774-1822) to England 1788, enrolled in Trinity College, Oxford, 1792; as a child received an ensigncy in Queen's American Rangers; studied at Inner Temple; went to Ontario 1796 as barrister and deputy secretary; to Alabama 1812, where he died.*

to New York to be cared for by William Samuel Johnson, then president of Columbia College, prior to his embarkation in 1788 for England.

Upon his leaving the parsonage, Peters walked four miles to where a horse had been placed for him, jumped into the saddle and rode one hundred and ten miles to Boston, arriving late the next day. En route he was stopped at Woodstock, Oxford and Sutton by patriot patrols, who let him by when Peters represented himself as a messenger from Trumbull to John Hancock. He managed to pick up information on plans to capture General Thomas Gage's army at Boston and relayed them to the general on his arrival. According to Peters' memorial, Gage set up batteries on Boston Neck as a result of this information, saving "his own life, the lives of his army and of the Loyalists then in Boston." Once in Boston, Peters found himself lionized by councillors, commissioners and clergy, who gravely accepted his embellished stories of mistreatment⁴⁵ in Connecticut, where it was feared Anglicanism would be wiped out. Evidence that he had not been forgotten in Hebron came with a letter to Peters asserting that

"Your house is watched every night, I hear to notify a Mob from Farmington who are ready to visit you on your expected return"⁴⁶

The exaggerated tales, though recommended by the Boston clergy as just and modest,⁴⁷ were, however, reported to Governor Trumbull by one Thaddeus Burr, then in Boston. As a result of Burr's letter,⁴⁸ an open letter was sent to the Boston *Evening Post* and printed on November 7, 1774, stating that religious affiliations had played no part in the Peters events. Deeply concerned lest Peters present his tale of woe in England, a "true" narrative of the events was prepared⁴⁹ by Trumbull, denying that he had been motivated by religious viewpoints. Not only was Peters assiduous in cultivating the good graces of Gage and Admiral Graves, but he renewed his acquaintance with the Rev. Mather Byles, Jr., of Christ Church; met the Rev. Henry Caner of King's Chapel, and struck up a warm friendship with the curate, the Rev. John Troutbeck. In passing it may be noted that Troutbeck advanced Peters some thirty guineas and dur-

⁴⁵Gage to Dartmouth, October 30, 1774 (Carter: "Correspondence of General Gage,")—"A clergyman by the name of Peters was driven here from Connecticut and gave terrible Accts. of his Treatment."

⁴⁶Tyler to Peters, October 5, 1774 (Peters Ms.).

⁴⁷Letter of October 7, 1774, in S. P. G. Journal January 19, 1775 (Libr. Congress).

⁴⁸Burr to Trumbull, October 13, 1774 (Trumbull Ms., IV, Conn. State Libr.; also Mer. Archives, 4 S., I, 714).

⁴⁹Narrative of December 26, 1774 (I. W. Stuart: "Life of Jonathan Trumbull," 8).

ing the early hostilities sheltered Peters' daughter Hannah in his residence.

During his stay in Boston the impatient Peters wrote much and managed to involve his brother clerics in popular denunciations as two letters were intercepted and published in the papers. Peters' brother Jonathan and one Newcomb had visited the parson in Boston and were to deliver letters, but shrewd patriot farmers procured the missives, which Jonathan had hidden when halted at a tavern. One letter, addressed to his mother and dated September 28th, was couched in typical disdainful language, but what made Whig hearts apprehensive was the "military" information given—

"Six regiments are now coming from England, and sundry men of war; so soon as they come, hanging work will go on, and destruction will first attend the seaport towns; the lintel sprinkled on the side posts will preserve the Faithful."⁵⁰

As his name had been mentioned in the letter, the Rev. Abraham Jarvis quickly dispatched an open letter to the *Connecticut Journal*⁵¹ disclaiming any connection with or previous knowledge of Peters' going to Boston. The second letter, dated October 1, 1774, and addressed to the Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, was more exasperating, which occasioned editorial comment⁵² when printed in the *Boston Evening Post*.

This letter to Dr. Auchmuty, written in Peters' usual intemperate style, could but foment furious sentiments against the Anglican Church generally, for the author asserted, in part:

"The Riots and Mobs that have attended me and my House, set on by the Go— of Connecticut, have compelled me to take my Abode here; and the Clergy of Connecticut must fall a sacrifice with the several Churches very soon, to the Rage of the Puritan Mobility, if the old Serpent, that Dragon is not bound. . . . Judge Auchmuty will do all that is reasonable for their neighboring charter. Necessity calls for such Friendship, as the Head is sick and the Heart faint, and Spiritual Iniquity rides in high places, the Halberts, Pistols and Swords. See the Proclamation I sent you by my nephew, on their pious Sabbath day the 4th of last Month when the Preachers and Magistrates left the Pulpits, etc.,

⁵⁰*Peters to Mary Peters, September 28, 1774 (Amer. Archives, 4 S., I, 715).*

⁵¹*Connecticut Journal, October 21, 1774.*

⁵²*Boston Evening Post, October 24, 1774: "No Proposition in Euclid admits of a more facile Solution than that Samuel Peters of Hebron, who is daubbd with the Title of Reverend, is the most unnatural Monster, diabolical Incendiary & detestable Parricide to his Country that ever appeared in America or disgraced Humanity; his Name, like the Lake of Sodom, will emit a disagreeable Effluvia to all succeeding generations. It is happy for his Contemporaries that his invincible Stupidity is a sufficient Antidote to his more than infernal Malignity. To evidence these Assertions, nothing more is necessary than the following Letter . . ."*

for the gun and drum and set off for Boston, cursing the King and Lord North, General Gage, the Bishops and their cursed Curates and the Church of England; and for my telling the Church-people not to take up arms, etc., it being high treason, etc. The Sons of Liberty have almost killed one of my Church, tarred and feathered two, Abused others and on the 6th Day Destroyed my Windows and rent my Cloaths, even my Gown, etc. Crying out down with the Church, the Rags of Popery, etc. Their Rebellion is obvious, Treason is common and Robbery the daily Devotion. The Lord deliver us from Anarchy . . ."

When informed that the letter had been intercepted and made public, Auchmuty wrote a blistering note to Peters, objecting to having his name "bandied about by a parcel of rascals"⁵³ and voicing his brother's angry sentiments. From the safe distance of London, the over-apologetic Peters wrote a conciliatory message, couched in extravagant style and averring that

"I blame myself more for my foolishness than the world can blame me.—my repentance is like Esau's a bitter repentance and too late. I am killed with the thots of my foolishness. I have not slept 2 hours in 24 since I have heard of the robbery; I mourn all my time with fervent prayer to God to protect my injured friends from violence of evil men and from the danger I unwillingly exposed them to . . ."⁵⁴

While his enemies roundly abused him,⁵⁵ the militant priest proposed to General Gage that he be commissioned to return to Connecticut to enlist Loyalists and perhaps lead an attack on his rebellious neighbors. Gage hastily vetoed the plan, pleading lack of authority to grant such commissions but suggesting the alternative of Peters embarking for London as a dignified "sufferer" for his loyalty. The prospect of enduring popularity in the official circles of London attracted Peters to the extent that he agreed to Gage's proposal. Advised to sail from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, a disguised Parson Peters left Boston on October 12th, walked some distance, and then caught the coach to Portsmouth. Upon his arrival he took shelter with Robert Traill, the customs collector, and was persuaded to preach on Sunday in the historic Queen's Chapel, where Peters had once hoped to preach as rector. But it soon became known that Peters had slipped out of Boston, with the result that John Hancock publicly offered £200 for the cleric's capture.

⁵³*Auchmuty to Peters, October 31, 1774 (Peters Ms.).*

⁵⁴*Peters to Auchmuty, February 25, 1775 (New Jersey Documents on Colonial History, I Series, Vol. 10).*

⁵⁵*Stiles: "Literary Diary," October 27, 1774: "the infamous Paricide fled to Boston to embark for England & tell the King his story, get a Pension & perhaps a Bishoprick for his suffering in the Cause of Government as it is called."*

The Boston clergy dispatched a messenger to Peters to warn him of his danger, while ambitious patriots spread out to find the parson. The Wednesday following his appearance in church, Peters met a man in a Portsmouth tavern who was seeking that "bitter enemy to the rights and liberties of America." Having posted the landlord, it was arranged that Peters be chased across Casco Bay, for a ferryman was induced to tell the stranger that he had previously ferried a mysterious person over to Piscataqua. Obviously the hunt was in vain and when four more heroes rode into town in the evening a popular search was instituted of the Governor's house, the fort and the ship "Fox." In the meantime, Peters hid in a large cave by the seashore, subsisting through the aid of friends until October 19th, when he removed to Castle William at Newcastle, eight miles from Portsmouth. For eight days he remained at the castle under Governor John Wentworth's protection, as

"Information came to Mrs. W. that insult was intended at poor Parson Peters. She very wisely sent him off, conducted by Thomas Coach to the Castle, where he has since remained quiet and this day sails London.—He is highly pleased with N. Hampshire and probably will report kindly thereof. The story of his calamities is most astonishing and in a Xtian country equally deplorable. I have advised him to be moderate on his arrival in England even toward those who have most cruelly treated him."⁵⁶

News of this state of affairs was brought to Admiral Graves in Boston, who dispatched a sixteen-gun ship to pick up Peters, which was done at night. When the time came for Peters to be transferred to the "Fox," the captain of the warship boarded the "Fox" and ordered the local Committee of Safety then aboard to quit the ship in five minutes, as "your company is not wanted here." Upon their hurried departure, Peters came aboard and Captain Zachariah Norman hoisted anchor and sailed down the river towards the sea. The discomfited patriots on shore sent some scattering musket fire after the ship, while the warship obligingly replied by firing its cannons. It was with such a send-off that "Munchausen" Peters, as he was popularly named, departed from his native New England on October 27, 1774. After a long, tiresome journey, the "Fox" landed Peters in England on December 21st and on the following day he arrived in London. Peters soon had the honor of kissing King George III's hand⁵⁷ as the first Loyalist clerical sufferer from New England.

⁵⁶*Wentworth to Waldron, October 25, 1774 (Belknap Papers in Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 6 Series, Vol. 4).*

⁵⁷*Connecticut Gazette, May 4, 1776: "His Majesty's right arm is lame, occasioned by a sprain from flourishing his sword over the heads of his new made knights. The*

For thirty years Samuel Peters remained abroad, proudly serving as liaison between his colonial brother clergy and the English hierarchy, for he was constantly in demand for information relevant to matters concerning the American churches. He took part in discussions regarding the Nova Scotia episcopate, which he unsuccessfully sought, and proffered his services when Dr. Seabury came to London seeking consecration. In 1791 Peters almost drew the appointment as Bishop of Upper Canada, while in 1794 the churches in Vermont elected him their bishop, but unfortunately Peters was unable to obtain consecration either in England or America. Finally in 1804 he returned to America, fired by the ambition to become a real estate magnate, as the so-called Carver Grant in Wisconsin had been procured by him. Congress refused to honor the dubious Indian deed of 1766 to Jonathan Carver and so Peters found his weary journey from New York out to Prairie du Chien, made in 1817, a waste of time. His last days spent in abject poverty, he died in New York on April 29, 1826.

Closely following Peter's departure in 1774, the Connecticut General Assembly notified the Anglican clergy of the open suspicion in which they were popularly held and some of the clergy published a statement⁵⁸ denying any connection with Peters' designs or activities. The small Anglican group left at Hebron courageously met for services, led by Thomas Brown as lay reader, while the Rev. John Tyler of Norwich took the parish under his care,

"though I must confess that I durst not go there for some time after you went away; so bitter was the Spirit of some People; but since, I have been three or four Sundays there every year."⁵⁹

Toward the close of hostilities, a wandering dissenting minister, Clement Sumner, managed to get into the good graces of the Hebronites and he patronizingly demanded of Peters when he intended to return.⁶⁰ It seems that Sumner expected to obtain ordination whenever an American Bishop should be available and then proceed to consolidate the scattered parish. Nothing came of these plans, however, and it was not until 1794, when the Rev. Tillotson Bronson spent some time at Hebron, that the parish had any regular supply.

Rev. Mr. Peters from Lebanon in Connecticut has obtained his Majesty's leave to pick up at 9d. per day, a penny more than the usual price, as a reward for his past faithful services; and by this lucrative business it is supposed he will soon acquire a fortune equal to that he left behind him."

⁵⁸Connecticut Journal, October 28, 1774.

⁵⁹Tyler to Peters, January 9, 1784 (Peters Ms.).

⁶⁰Sumner to Peters, October 18, 1783 (Peters Ms.). Rev. Clement Sumner (1731-1795) Yale 1758; licensed pastor 1759; at Keene, N. H., in 1761, a "Half-Way Covenant" group, built up group from 14 to 73; dismissed by town vote 1772; Congregational pastor 1773-5 at Thetford, Vt.; fled as Tory, lived as a farmer at Swansett, N. H., but fined in 1777 as a Tory; supplied Universalist Church in Swanzey.

BEGINNINGS OF THE CHURCH ON THE PACIFIC COAST

By Archdeacon W. R. H. Hodgkin

THE beginnings of our Church life on the Pacific Coast stand out by themselves. It was in 1579 that the Prayer Book was first used on the Coast or, for that matter, on the Continent. Francis Fletcher was the Chaplain of Francis Drake, and when the "Captain" sought to pause in his maraudings to clean up his ship he missed the great bay that was named later for St. Francis and found a sheltered spot further north, some say at Drake's Bay; some sat at Bodega Bay. Here the Chaplain preached to the natives and here on St. John the Baptist Day he celebrated the Holy Communion while wondering natives looked on. This event is now commemorated by a large stone cross in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco. Two hundred years after this first service, the Spanish padres came to establish their chain of "the old California Missions."

The next service of which we have record was that held by the Reverend Mr. Beaver, Chaplain to the Hudson Bay Company at Vancouver and Cathlamet, in Wahkiakum County, in 1836. His Journal records 124 baptisms, 9 marriages, and 12 burials during his eighteen months residence. During the years just preceding the discovery of gold, services were held by the Reverend W. R. Leanworth, Chaplain of the Colonel J. D. Stevenson Regiment in 1847, in the "Parker House" in San Francisco, then known as Yerba Buena. However, the navy claims that the first English service was held July 25, 1847, by a navy chaplain, the Reverend Chester Newell, of the U. S. S. Independence, who was an Episcopal clergyman from the Diocese of Maryland. This service followed the raising of the flag in the neighborhood of Portsmouth Square. About the same time, between 1848 and 1851, the Reverend Mr. Fackler held services at Shampoeg and possibly at Oregon City in Oregon.

The permanent beginnings of our Church date from 1848 or 1849, when a few church people met in San Francisco and on July 8th or 22nd, organized Holy Trinity, later Trinity Parish, the Reverend Flavel S. Mines being chosen as rector. While these churchmen were getting organized, another group had also been at work and they had written to the General Board of Missions in New York asking for

a missionary. The Board appointed the Reverend Dr. J. L. VerMehr, whose sailing was delayed by smallpox, and when he arrived in August he found that Holy Trinity had organized the previous month. It may have been questionable to establish two parishes in so small a community, but Dr. VerMehr held services at the residence of Mr. Frank Ward on October 7, 1849, and on April 28, 1850, Grace Church was organized and the first services held on July 20th in the new building. The two clergymen became warm friends and the rapidly growing city soon found room for both congregations. Within a year the New York Board decided that "California was no more considered missionary ground." The rector and the missionary were mystified and there seemed little chance that a Missionary Bishop would be sent to lead the work on the Coast. The California Churchmen became restless and active; they called a convention of the "Church in California," and met in Holy Trinity Chapel, San Francisco, on Wednesday, July 24, 1850. Dr. VerMehr preached and the Reverend Flavel S. Mines was elected temporary chairman. Eight evening sessions were held and a Constitution and Canons were adopted "For the Government of the Church in California." These provided for meetings on the "First Wednesday in May of every third year, which shall always be the year of the meeting of the General Convention." On the eighth evening, on the motion of the Reverend Samuel Moorhouse, it was ordered that the Convention go into an election for a Bishop of the Diocese of California. After voting it "appeared that the Right Reverend Bishop Southgate received the concurrent vote of the Clergy and Laity and was duly elected Bishop of the Diocese of California." Bishop Southgate, who had been Bishop of the American Church in Constantinople, declined the election. Three years later various amendments to the Constitution and Canons were made and resolutions were adopted for sending delegates to the "General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America at its meeting in October next in the city of New York," and that these delegates be instructed to apply on behalf of this diocese for admission into the union with the General Convention.

These Churchmen were men of vision although, as Dr. VerMehr admitted twenty-five years later, they may have been mistaken in their action in establishing the Church in California. They provided that "Diocesan Institutions shall be a College, a Theological Seminary, a Presbyterium and a Sanctuary." For the information of those not familiar with such ancient terms, a "Presbyterium was an Asylum for disabled Clergy"; and a "Sanctuary" was a similar retreat for infirm widows in full communion with the Church, having

attained the age of sixty years. It should be noted that in the Convention of 1850, no action was taken toward union with the General Convention.

This is the situation that Bishop Kip found when he arrived in California. The General Convention met in 1853 and elected William Ingraham Kip, Rector of St. Peter's Church, Albany, New York, to be Missionary Bishop. The fact that the Church people of California had constituted themselves into a Diocese complicated the sending of a Missionary Bishop. The General Convention, however, ignored the California action and after quite a little discussion sent Bishop Kip to California. He was consecrated October 28, 1853. "It was over," he wrote, "before I had recovered from the first effects of the surprise produced by my election." It seems he never had any official notice of his election and did not in any way send an acceptance. Of Bishop Kip's journey to California by way of Panama before the building of the railroad, and of his shipwreck at San Diego, his first port in California, and of his arrival in San Francisco just in time to preach on a Sunday morning, January 29, 1854—of all this in detail Church people should read in his *"Early Days of My Episcopate,"* a most fascinating account of those early days and of his early journeys through the State. Bishop Kip found congregations organized at Trinity and Grace, San Francisco, Stockton, Marysville, and Sacramento.

In his first Convention, a resolution was adopted which expressed "its hearty approval of the action of the Standing Committee as the representative of the Diocese in promptly receiving the Right Reverend Wm. Ingraham Kip, D.D., Missionary Bishop to the Diocese of California." By the time of the next General Convention there was no question in any one's mind as to whether California was a Missionary District or a Diocese. It was a Diocese.

In rather rapid succession parishes were started, at first without distinction in status between parishes and missions. Oakland, Coloma (where gold was discovered), Grass Valley, Placerville (then known as "Hangtown"), Benicia and many others were soon established. Bishop Kip's first visit to Monterey, the old Spanish and Mexican capital of California, makes interesting reading as he describes the customs of that Spanish town. In October, 1855, he journeyed by boat to Los Angeles, stopping again at Monterey and also at Santa Barbara, which had a population of 1,200. Los Angeles had only 5,000 and he was the first clergyman of our Church to visit it. Services were held in the Methodist Church, and there was no little interest in the "peculiar dignity and solemnity of the Church Services" and also in a "Church that did not preach Nebraska or Kansas,

slavery and anti-slavery, and that was not identified with any of the isms of the day." Returning from Los Angeles, the Bishop traveled in an army ambulance to Fort Tejon on the hills between Los Angeles and the San Joaquin Valley. There were dangers of raids from Indians and from Mexican bandits resentful of the American invasion. The journey from Fort Tejon, where he held services and appointed a lay reader, was one through rough country with but little water and it was sometimes a serious question whether the mules would last out. He finally reached Fort Miller, not far from the present site of Fresno, and held services at the post where there were seventy men of the Third Artillery. Arrangements were made for Sunday services, the surgeon, Dr. Murray, being licensed as a lay reader.

The Third Triennial Convention of the Diocese was held in 1856 and the only action of importance was the final vote amending the Constitution of 1850 and expressing "adherence to the Constitution and authority of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States." It was also decided to hold annual Conventions and, in 1857, it was decided to call that one the Seventh Convention of the Diocese. Bishop Kip was called to be the Diocesan at a special Convention held in Sacramento on February 5, 1857. The letter notifying him of his election congratulated him "on your admirable and conciliatory, yet firm and gentlemanly and Christian administration of your Episcopal functions." And the Bishop expressed his appreciation of the confidence shown him as a Missionary Bishop "midst the peculiar difficulties which had surrounded him in the performance of his duties of administration and discipline." Thus the crisis was passed and the Church in California forged ahead with its own Bishop, never in its own mind having been a Missionary District, and when we remember the failure of the Missionary Board to support either Dr. VerMehr or the Bishop, perhaps the Church is justified in its so considering itself.

In 1861 the Bishop had to take charge of Grace Church, San Francisco, and to supervise the completion of the ambitious project to build what was, till the fire of 1906, one of the most attractive church buildings in the United States. There was much talk of changing the status of the parish to that of a cathedral, and though nothing definite along that line was done, yet the Church became popularly known as "Grace Cathedral" and the Prayer Books were so marked. Years later, after the fire, the new building, a few blocks higher up the hill, became definitely Grace Cathedral with Dean and Chapter.

Of the beginnings of the various parishes, not much is known. St. John's, Stockton, was founded in 1850, in the same year as the

city. The Reverend Orlando Harriman, Jr., came West with the tide of immigration and arrived in Stockton. At his first service, on August 1st, he met with hearty response from the pioneers in that trading center, and on August 25th the parish was organized. Besides Mr. Harriman, whose son became one of the greatest railroad men in the United States, these founders were men noted in the State. Among them was Mr. Eastman, who gave an endowment to provide scholarships for men studying for the ministry.

Trinity, San Jose, was founded in 1861 by the Reverend S. Smith Etheridge, who came to California a sick man and yet carried on vigorously for a few years, leaving a growing parish behind him at his early death.

Schools were among pioneer needs and California had, of course, few in those early days. Dr. VerMehr, of Grace Church, San Francisco, began a school at Sonoma, which flourished for a while, sometimes in Sonoma and sometimes in San Francisco. In 1865 the Reverend A. L. Brewer arrived and started the St. Matthew's Military School at San Mateo. The school was later moved to Hillsborough, only a few miles distant, and was carried on by his son. Mr. Brewer suggested the Convocation system in the Diocese. He founded the parish at San Mateo and several missions in the vicinity. In 1868, Dr. James Lloyd Breck founded St. Augustine's College and St. Mary's Hall, Benicia, which continued for a long time. Quite a party came with him as his associates.

In 1858, at the suggestion of the Bishop, a new Canon was adopted placing the Missions under the Bishop and clerical members of the Standing Committee. In 1873 this was changed considerably and provided for a Board of Missions.

In 1870 there was held in San Francisco a Delegate Meeting of the General Board of Missions and a large number of notables attended. This meeting did much to arouse the people of California to the importance of "Foreign Missions." About this time, in 1871, there was talk of dividing the Diocese, the result being the setting off of twenty-seven northern counties as the Missionary Jurisdiction of Northern California. The Reverend John Henry Ducachet Wingfield, D.D., LL.D., Rector of Trinity, San Francisco, was consecrated as its Bishop on December 2, 1874.

In the Bishop's address in 1858 he stated that the service by a lay reader was the only Protestant service in Los Angeles. In 1864 there was an appeal from the people of Los Angeles to the Missionary Committee of the Diocese for help. In response, the Reverend Elias Birdsall, of Indiana, a newcomer to California, was sent to "Los Angeles and points adjacent." He founded the parish of St. Atha-

nasius. In his first report, Mr. Birdsall wrote: "We have united the whole Protestant element in our own new parish, and every Lord's Day some increase in numbers is manifested. . . . There is a wider field here that is almost entirely neglected, and one from which the Church, if she would furnish the laborers, might reap an abundant harvest." But two years later Mr. Birdsall went to St. John's, Stockton. Later he returned to Los Angeles as Rector of St. Paul's, now the Cathedral.

The Reverend Wm. H. Hill was one of the early California leaders. He began work in 1854 in the mining camps of Grass Valley in the Sierras. In 1856 he went to Sacramento, where he kept a difficult field intact and going for fourteen years.

Mention should be made of the Reverend James S. McGowan, who in 1874 pioneered in the Salinas Valley, Monterey County, founding the first non-Roman Church on the peninsula. In the Salinas River Valley he organized groups wherever people could be gathered together. In his old age he went to the Sierras east of Madera and built another church. Another pioneer worker was the Reverend Douglas O. Kelley, who came to California as a young lawyer. Most of the work in the San Joaquin Valley, except that at Stockton, came as a result of his labors. Before entering that field, he had founded the parish at Watsonville.

In the early days of California's statehood a great many Chinese came from the neighborhood of Canton. As early as 1854 or 1855 the Reverend E. W. Syle was sent to take up work among them but soon left as he could not speak the Cantonese dialect. Several of our parishes opened Sunday Schools for the Chinese, but these seem to have been attended chiefly as means for learning English. In 1879 a candidate for orders, Walter Ching Young, who had been trained in an Eastern Seminary, came to San Francisco and was ordained deacon May 10, 1879. His work was carried on in Trinity Parish.

When we come to the beginnings of the Church in the Oregon Territory which, at one time, included the States of Oregon and Washington, we find no question about Missionary District or Diocese. The jurisdiction of Oregon (and Washington Territory) was formed by General Convention in 1853. Reference has already been made to the occasional services held prior to that time.

The Church seems to have had a real interest aroused in Oregon before it became interested in California. A missionary service in behalf of Oregon was held on March 23, 1851, at St. Bartholomew's, New York City. Three days later the committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society issued its instructions to the Reverend

William Richmond, "Missionary to Oregon." The Reverend J. Theodore Black comments on this letter of instruction and says that it "left little to the imagination, but did show that his sponsors were not acting without adequate information." Mr. Richmond's instructions were "to include on that river (the Columbia), the rising villages of St. Helen's and Milton, with Fort Vancouver and, on the Willamette, the towns of Portland, Milwaukie and Oregon City." He was to work that territory intensely, to take up government land for the benefit of the Church, and to secure his support partly from this land, partly from local donations, partly from Eastern sources. He was to build churches, start schools, and to write reports for the *Spirit of Missions*. The more one reads of the doings of those pioneer clergy, the more one suspects they were supermen. When Mr. Richmond arrived, he found the Reverend St. Michael Fackler already on the field and was delighted to have him for a companion. On his recommendation, Mr. Fackler was appointed a Missionary.

Services were held at many places: Portland, Oregon City, Milwaukie, Harris' Ferry, McKay's Prairie, Lafayette, Dayton and Milton, Marion and Yamhill counties. He found few Episcopalians in the Territory. The services were attended by men mostly, only a few women appearing. Mr. Fackler was also working at many other places. Mrs. Richmond started a school on their claim. The building, sixteen by sixteen, was built out of materials taken from the claim itself at a cost of two hundred dollars. This school was probably the only educational institution in the Territory.

In 1853, the Reverend James A. Woodward arrived and carried on Mr. Richmond's work after he had given it up on account of his health. About the same time, the Reverend J. McCarty, D.D., came to the Territory and held services at Portland and at Fort Vancouver. In August, 1853, a meeting was held at Oregon City and a resolution was adopted asking General Convention to send a Missionary Bishop to Oregon and recommended Dr. McCarty for that office.

However, on January 8, 1854, the Reverend Thomas Fielding Scott, Rector of Columbus, Georgia, was consecrated Missionary Bishop for Oregon and Washington Territory. His field embraced the present States of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, with parts of Montana and Wyoming thrown in. When there were no railroads, airplanes, automobiles, etc., the Church gave large assignments to its Missionary Bishops.

During the next three years little new work was undertaken, and only one new clergyman came to the district. However, in 1856, the two Sellwoods arrived and began long and faithful ministrations, the Reverend John Sellwood accomplishing much in spite of very

poor health. Bishop Scott often referred to the difficulty of securing new men from the East and once referred to "grasshopper clergy," stating that he thought men were dishonest who would accept travel expense money and quickly leave the field. The changes were so rapid that it would be idle in a short paper to list them for any part of the Coast.

In 1861 appeared the first issue of the *Oregon Churchman*. It was an organ of education and propaganda. A sample of the work expected of clergy is the story that when Bishop Scott was asked by the people of Trinity, Portland, to take charge of their services, he found the janitor work had not been done and discovered that the people expected him to do it. The result was that the Bishop started St. Stephen's, which today is the pro-Cathedral.

In 1864 Mr. Fackler was asked to take charge of the work east of the Cascades and to pioneer in a field of over 200,000 square miles, and Mr. Hyland went to Olympia to cover an area now occupied by twenty parishes.

The relation of Idaho to work in Oregon and Washington is not a new one. Bishop Scott visited Idaho only once, and in 1865 he was relieved of responsibility for it. In an address to Convocation he stated that he had two things to regret, "first that the House of Bishops did not adopt my suggestion transferring all that part of my present jurisdiction lying east of the Cascade Mountains to a new diocese; second, that they should have imposed so unwieldly and impracticable work upon any man as that assigned to Bishop Randall."

In 1867 the Bishop announced his intention of retiring. In his final address, he expressed his disappointment that there was so little missionary zeal among the clergy; he had found them too content to minister to those already in the Church.

The next Bishop was the Right Reverend Benjamin Wistar Morris, of Germantown. He became known as the "Builder." Among the new clergy who came in 1871 to help him was the Reverend Lemuel H. Wells. He had crossed the continent on one of the first trains and took a steamer from San Francisco to Portland; then a river steamer to the Cascades and a narrow-gauge railroad for three miles; then another steamer to The Dalles and another narrow-gauge railroad for six miles; then another river boat to Wallula, and then finished his journey with a stage for twenty miles to Walla Walla. At that time Walla Walla was the largest city in Washington, though there were only thirteen hundred inhabitants. Mr. Wells journeyed into three States and planted Missions in twenty-two places besides Walla Walla. In his second year of residence he started St. Paul's

day and boarding school for girls with three boarders and twenty day pupils.

In 1880 Washington was set off from Oregon and the Reverend John Adams Paddock, of Brooklyn, was consecrated Missionary Bishop for the State of Washington. In 1892 the eastern part of the State was set apart as the Missionary District of Spokane and Mr. Wells, who at that time was Rector of Trinity, Tacoma, was consecrated Missionary Bishop of the new jurisdiction in which he had formerly worked so faithfully. He remained in charge till 1915, when he retired at the age of 74. He died March 27, 1936, at Tacoma, being 94 years of age, beloved and revered by all who knew him and admired by those who have heard of him and his work.

One of the great missionaries on the Coast was the Reverend R. D. Nevius, D.D., who in 1872 came to Portland as Rector of Trinity. The next year he offered himself for pioneer work east of the mountains and lived at LaGrande, where he built six of the first eleven churches in Eastern Oregon. In 1879 he went to Eastern Washington and built twenty-five churches. He held occasional services in Spokane while the Northern Pacific was being built and Spokane had only 650 inhabitants. In his little church he also conducted a school for boys and girls, calling it the Rodney Morris School. The next year Washington was set off from Oregon. When Bishop Wells, in 1892, was returning to Spokane after his consecration, he met on the train Mr. and Mrs. Felix Brunot, of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, who became so interested in the work at Spokane that they gave the Bishop \$30,000 for a school building. This enabled him to develop a Diocesan girls' boarding school out of the former parochial school founded by Dr. Nevius. Dr. Nevius and Bishop Wells were pioneers in the real sense of the word. They opened new fields and when a field developed they moved on to still newer opportunities. They were men of the same sort as Bishop Scott, missionaries who sought not to minister only to those who came, but went out seeking the unchurched and were never content to settle down in a city parish. The large beginnings of the Church on the Coast are due to just such men.

Reference has already been made to Dr. McCarty, who was Chaplain at Fort Vancouver from 1853 to 1855 and returned the next year and continued to work there and at Olympia and Steilacoom till 1868. St. Luke's, Vancouver, was the first organized Mission in Washington, the church being dedicated by Bishop Scott on Whitsunday, 1860. Another army chaplain who helped Bishop Scott in Washington was the Reverend Daniel Kendig. In 1865 the Reverend Peter Hyland came from Oregon, where he had been for five years at

Trinity, Portland, and during the next six years he lived at Olympia and acted as general missionary for the Puget Sound District from the Columbia River to the Canadian boundary. At Olympia, St. John's Church was consecrated by Bishop Scott in 1866. The growth of the Church was not over-rapid anywhere on the Coast. The six communicants Mr. Hyland had found in 1865 grew to only forty by 1871 and the congregation to sixty regular attendants. In 1865 Mr. Hyland visited the little village of Seattle with its three hundred inhabitants and held a service in the Methodist Church on August 13th. There was only one communicant of our Church in the village at that time. However, steps were taken to organize a parish; a Sunday School was started and Mr. Burnett served as lay reader. It was not till 1878 that the Mission became a self-supporting parish, with Dr. George H. Watson as its first Rector. Trinity Parish School was opened in 1881 and Grace Hospital, another Trinity enterprise, was opened in 1887. Trinity also started the Chapel of the Good Shepherd in 1881. Dr. Watson may not have pioneered from place to place, but he pioneered many new projects in one place. He remained Trinity's Rector till his death in 1896.

In 1880 Bishop Paddock took charge of Washington. Twelve years later Washington was divided and Bishop Paddock continued for two more years in the western part of the State as Bishop of Olympia. During his Episcopate the great migration to the Northwest took place and his labors marked the foundations of the Diocese. One of his successors has referred to him as "a great leader and man of vision." In 1884 he founded the Annie Wright Seminary at Tacoma and the Reverend L. H. Wells was its first chaplain.

In writing of the Coast, one must mention Nevada, whose gold and silver established the fortunes of many families now in California and New York. In 1863 the Reverend Ozi W. Whitaker was in charge of St. John's, Gold Hill, and later of St. Paul's, Virginia City. In 1869 he was consecrated Bishop of Nevada and began the work in the new railroad town of Reno, where in 1876 he founded the Bishop's School for Girls. In 1886 Bishop Whitaker was translated to Pennsylvania. Nevada was then linked with Utah and in 1888 Bishop Leonard was Bishop of the Church in both States. From 1898 to 1907 Nevada was divided between Sacramento and Utah, and it was not till 1908 that Nevada had a Bishop of its own in the person of Bishop Robinson.

Arizona was associated with Nevada and in 1869 was under Bishop Whitaker. We may well imagine the long journeys that he would have to make whenever he wanted to go from his work around Reno or Virginia City or along the line of the railroad in Nevada to

reach any of his work in Arizona. It usually involved a trip to San Francisco and then to Los Angeles and so finally to Arizona. After he went to Pennsylvania, Arizona was linked with New Mexico and remained so till 1892, when Bishop Kendrick became the first Bishop of Arizona.

We cannot forget the Church in Utah where, in 1867, Bishop Daniel Sylvester Tuttle began his long career of fifty-six years as a Bishop of the Church. In Salt Lake City he founded St. Mark's Cathedral and St. Mark's Hospital and Rowland Hall, a school for girls.

What a comfortable life we live today in comparison with the lack of comforts the founders of the Church on the Pacific Coast enjoyed. What little areas we care for compared to their 200,000 square miles. How quickly we travel compared to their speed in the horse-and-buggy and bad-roads days. What courage they had to begin a mission with one communicant. It ought not to be difficult for us to thank God for their labors and to take courage for ours.

MEMORIES OF AN IDAHO MISSIONARY

By George Buzzelle

I. SOMETHING ABOUT THE STATE OF IDAHO

IDAHO, the "Gem State," is 83,880 square miles in area, just short of Minnesota in size but larger than New England with Maryland and Delaware added. It lies entirely on the western water-shed of the Rocky Mountains and is almost entirely drained by the Columbia River and its branches. The chief of these branches is the Snake River, which takes its rise in Yellowstone Park and flows in a great bend south and west nearly 800 miles through southern Idaho until it strikes the western border, then flowing northward 200 miles farther and forming the boundary between Idaho and Oregon and between Idaho and Washington. At Lewiston it turns abruptly to the west and leaves the State. Bordering the Snake River in a belt fifty to seventy-five miles wide are the Snake River plains, originally arid, desolate sage brush land, but now irrigated and Idaho's chief agricultural region.

Idaho was a part of the "Oregon Country" and was held jointly by Great Britain and the United States until the treaty of 1846 gave the latter sole possession south of the forty-ninth parallel, the United States' claim being based on the exploration of Lewis and Clark, the first known white men in Idaho. Until 1842, the fur traders dominated the territory in so far as the Indians would allow. In that year the first movements over the famous Oregon Trail began. Six years before (1836), the Rev. Henry Spalding and his wife, sent out by the American Board for Foreign Missions, established a school for Indians on Lapwai Creek, east of Lewiston, the first home of a white family and where the first white child in Idaho was born and reared. Father Desmet, the pioneer of Roman Catholicism in the Northwest, established in the northern region the Sacred Heart Mission among the Coeur d'Alene Indians in 1842. A Mormon colony and mission was attempted in the valley of the Lemhi River (east-central, near the Montana border) in 1855, but they were recalled by Brigham Young in 1858 because of the hostility of the Bannock and Shoshone Indians. In 1860 a Mormon agricultural settlement was effected at Franklin, just north of Idaho's southern boundary, and here was opened the first school for whites.

The discovery of gold in 1860 along a tributary of the Clearwater River precipitated the first gold rush. This was followed in 1862 by the discovery of gold in the Boise basin of southern Idaho. By 1864 there were 16,000 people in the basin and Idaho City was the metropolis. Then came discoveries in Owyhee County, where Ruby City and Silver City became the main camps.

Agriculture and live stock raising, now the most important industries, began in valleys near the mining centers. Such were the Boise, Payette and Weiser valleys. These industries soon made headway over the more spectacular but less dependable gold rushes, stimulated by the building of the Oregon Short Line across southern Idaho in 1882-84 and the development of irrigation projects upon which farming in southern Idaho depends.

The Territory of Idaho was organized in 1863, the State constitution was adopted 1889, and Idaho was admitted into the Union on July 3, 1890. The population, which numbered 14,999 in 1870, increased to 32,610 in 1880; 88,548 in 1890; 161,772 in 1900; and in 1930 numbered 445,032.

II. EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN IDAHO

In 1865 the General Convention took notice of the new western territories by setting up Colorado, Montana, Idaho and Wyoming as a separate missionary district and, on December 28th of that year, George Maxwell Randall was consecrated Bishop of an area totaling 432,747 square miles, or the equal of all New England and all the Middle and South Atlantic States—a total of sixteen States—without benefit of railroad, automobile, or airplane.

In October, 1866, the Territories of Montana, Idaho and Utah were erected by the House of Bishops into a separate missionary jurisdiction of 315,875 square miles and 150,000 inhabitants. Daniel Sylvester Tuttle was elected as first bishop of this region. Not being thirty years old, he had to wait for consecration until May 1, 1867.

At the time of Bishop Tuttle's consecration, not one clergyman of the Episcopal Church was in all the field to which he was appointed. Two had been there: Bishop Scott, who had taken charge of Oregon and Washington in 1854, had once visited Idaho, where the Rev. St. Michael Fackler had preceded him. Together they held services at Placerville and Idaho City in the Boise Basin.

Mr. Fackler had gone to Boise City from Oregon in 1864 and held the first service on Sunday, August 7th. For two years services were held in private homes and vacant cabins. Finally the people, led by three or four earnest and persistent women, determined to build a

church, raised \$2,150, erected a plain wooden building, and held the first service in it on Sunday, September 2, 1866. Mr. Fackler was at this time in the jurisdiction of Bishop Joseph C. Talbot, first Missionary Bishop of the Northwest (1860-1865), who was 1,500 miles away at Nebraska City, some two weeks by day and night stage-coach traveling.

Leaving Boise October 1, 1866, Mr. Fackler took ship from the West Coast for the "States," going by way of the Isthmus of Panama. Cholera was contracted on shipboard and, ministering to the sick as pastor and nurse, Mr. Fackler fell victim to the disease and died at Key West.

"He was a dear, faithful soul, a fine missionary and a godly pastor, and the fragrance of his memory lingered long in Idaho."¹ Bishop Tuttle always felt love and gratitude for him and his ministry. The only thing he had against him was that he served the Boise people for nothing, and this made it hard for his successors to develop self-support.

Accompanying Bishop Tuttle on his initial trip to his missionary jurisdiction was the Rev. G. D. B. Miller, who had been rector at Butternuts, New York, six miles distant from Bishop Tuttle's parish at Morris. Mr. Miller married a younger sister of Mrs. Tuttle and was one of the three clergymen who went with Bishop Tuttle into his missionary empire. Reaching Salt Lake City on July 2, 1867, he bade Bishop Tuttle good-bye and pushed on to Boise City, a town of about 1,500 people and 400 miles from Salt Lake. Mr. Miller served the Church in Boise and the surrounding territory faithfully and well for five years (1867-1872). He soon bought a "rectory" for \$600, a small frame structure of three rooms without plaster. When, later in 1867, Bishop Tuttle made his first visit to Idaho, he homesteaded a city block, the only cost being that of fencing it—\$325.88. St. Margaret's School was eventually built upon it.

Mr. Miller's first report, made in August, 1867, was: communicants, 13; Sunday School scholars, 30; burials, 2. In 1870, he was able to raise \$2,000 (mostly in the East) to enlarge his rectory and to add on to the vestry room of the church building a wing to serve as a parish day school for fifty-five scholars. In 1872 Mr. Miller left for missionary work in China and Japan, returning in 1875 to spend the rest of his active ministry with Bishop Tuttle.

"In the work which God's providence has assigned me in the Church Militant, the world will never know what a faithful and helpful fellow-soldier I have had in the Rev. G. D. B. Miller. . . . He has been all these years (29) a veritable *fidus Achates*. Never has he

¹*Bishop Tuttle's Reminiscences*, p. 146. New York, 1906.

swerved a hair's breadth from the line of loyal and loving and unselfish devotion."²

In 1882 Bishop Tuttle reported for Idaho as follows: clergymen, 3; baptized, 52; confirmed, 13; communicants, 188; Sunday School scholars, 177. By the time of his translation to Missouri in 1886, the good Bishop had held services in fifty towns in Idaho.

Upon Bishop Tuttle's transfer a new alignment of missionary districts took place. Wyoming was united with Idaho and the Rt. Rev. Ethelbert Talbot, consecrated May 27, 1887, succeeded to the Idaho field. Bishop Talbot was born October 9, 1848, in Fayette, Missouri. Ordered deacon and priest in 1873 by Bishop Robertson of Missouri, his entire ministry until his election to the episcopate was spent as rector of St. James Church, Macon City, Missouri, and as rector of the Military Academy in the same place. He shepherded the flock in Wyoming and Idaho for eleven years, being translated to Central Pennsylvania in 1898. Upon the division of the latter diocese into Harrisburg and Bethlehem in 1904, Bishop Talbot elected to become Bishop of Bethlehem until his death, February 27, 1928. He was Presiding Bishop of the Church from February 18, 1924, to January 1, 1926.

As we have seen, the increase in the population of Idaho for the first fifty years was rapid. Increasing at the rate of 117.4 per cent from 1870 to 1880, 171.5 per cent from 1880 to 1890, and 82.7 per cent from 1890 to 1900, the growth from 161,772 in 1900 to 325,594 in 1910, or 101.3 per cent, marked the end of an era. Since 1910 the growth has been much less rapid—from 325,594 in 1910 to 431,866 in 1920, or 32.6 per cent. During the decade 1920-30, Idaho has just about held its own, increasing from 431,866 in 1920 to 445,032 in 1930, or only 3 per cent.

The Church has done better than the State. From 2,526 communicants in 1920 to 2,952 in 1930 represents a gain of 12.9 per cent. The ratio of population to each communicant has also improved. In 1920 it was 170.9 to 1 and in 1930, 150.7 to 1; which means that whereas in 1920 out of every 170 people in Idaho only one was a communicant of the Episcopal Church, in 1930 one out of every 150 people was a communicant.

Today, 1936, there are 17 clergy, 11 lay readers, 38 parishes and missions, 3,305 communicants, and 4,839 baptized persons, 144 church school teachers, and 1,192 scholars.

The writer of the "Memories" which follow was born in Sheboygan County, Wisconsin, March 17, 1867. Coming under the influence of the Rev. Robert Waller Blow of Grace Church, Sheboygan, his path

²Tuttle: *Reminiscences*, p. 280.

led to Racine College, but a breakdown in health compelled him to leave before graduation. In 1888 he was invited by Bishop Talbot to do lay work in his jurisdiction and to prepare for Holy Orders. Accepting this invitation, he served as lay reader until ordered deacon in 1890 and priest in 1891. In 1893 he was transferred to Olympia. The "Memories," therefore, are to be dated between 1888 and 1893.

III. MEMORIES OF A MISSIONARY

As one journeys from the East, the first scene of our missionary labors in Idaho to be reached is Shoshone, north of the Snake River, the county seat of Lincoln County. Many things happened there to make it an unforgettable memory. The first service, and by the way, it was the first service of the Church in the town, was held in a little hall that was used for all sorts of things, and was on the main street wedged in between two saloons, one of which bore the title "Saloon and Justice of the Peace." While waiting for the congregation to gather, the door opened and a man entered who was a sight to behold. Tall, angular, and dressed in overalls and a Prince Albert of very ancient vintage, topped by a hat that had been made of silk once, he walked down the little aisle stiff as a ramrod, and when we met him, he asked us if we were to hold the service that night. We answered in the affirmative, and then he put out his great paw and said, "I am glad to see you, for I have waited twenty years for my Church to come to Shoshone." He sat through the service like a statue, and then bade us good-night. We learned that his name was Wm. Mabbitt, called by everybody "Jack-Rabbit Bill," because he had built his house at the edge of the town from the proceeds of jack-rabbit bounties. It was his custom to get lit up on great occasions, and the coming of his Church was a great occasion, so Bill was celebrating.

At the same service we noticed a man sitting in a chair right at the door, who occasionally got up and went out, reappearing a little later. We thought that some boys were making a little disturbance on the street, and that he was quieting them. After service we found that it was the saloon keeper at the left of the hall, and he had one ear on the saloon, and when any one entered he went out and served them, and then came back to the service. Combining business with religion, you might say.

The second town in the field coming from the East is Mountain Home,³ and here we built our first church. The gateway to the Rocky Bar mines, and the cattle and sheep country around Bruneau,⁴ one saw much of Western life. A cattleman came into the house

³*County seat of Elmore County, north of the Snake River.*

⁴*In Owyhee County, south of the Snake River.*

where we were staying, and going into another room said to his wife that he had found just the vest that he had always been looking for, and wanted one like it at once. We were wearing a cassock vest. This same couple invited us to spend a two weeks with them at their summer camp in the Cammas prairie country. When the time came we found a note at the postoffice asking us to take a young lady with us, as she was to visit the camp as well. Most agreeable. The mode of transportation was left to Miss S., and she chose horse-back. We secured a couple of steeds and set forth. The way was long and rough, and the weather was very warm, and soon horses and riders grew weary. Hour after hour passed with no sign of habitation and the sun sank low, and darkness came on, and still we plodded onward, resting every little way. Just as we had decided that we would have to roll up in blankets and wait for dawn, we espied a house by the wayside. Riding up we demanded supper and lodging. Two rough-looking men occupied the cabin, and said we could have supper, but that there was no place for a lady to stay. We informed them that the lady would stay, and dismounted. Supper was filling, and then the question of beds arose. They finally fixed a couch in the front room for Miss S., and gave us a blanket to roll up in on the floor. They occupied the inner room. We did not like the looks of our hosts, deciding that they were rum runners, and when they retired we rolled up in our blanket immediately in front of their door, determined that they should not pass. The next thing we knew was a kindly kick in the ribs with the announcement that breakfast was ready. Sheepish? Well, somewhat.

Nampa⁵ was for some time our headquarters, being about midway of the field on the railroad, and the gateway to the Owyhee⁶ country. Our first service in Nampa was held one Sunday afternoon in a loft over the post office. Singing at these services was always a problem. When it came time to lift our voices in praise, we asked some one to pitch the tune to the ever reliable "Rock of Ages." No one responded for some time, and then a nice-looking gentleman arose and said that he never sang anything but "Sams," so we said sing a "Sam," and he proceeded to line out a doleful version of one of the joyous songs of David. The gentleman proved to be an ex-United Presbyterian minister, out from Pittsburgh for his health. This was not our last dealing with the reverend gentleman, for we conceived the idea that stage coaching was altogether too expensive and tedious, as well as inconvenient, and we decided to buy a horse. On inquiry we learned that Mr. Stevenson had a good nag that he wanted to sell.

⁵*In Caldwell County, north of Snake River.*

⁶*Southwest corner of Idaho.*

Soon the bargain was made with one proviso, "that he did not buck." Being well assured on this point, we bought a saddle outfit and early one morning hied ourself to the stable to start on our journey to Silver City,⁷ Delamar,⁸ etc. Bill was duly saddled without protest on his part, but after mounting seemed disinclined to leave his happy home. We used a gentle persuader, and suddenly he started—but it was up rather than forward. Did he buck? Just ask the neighbors; of course it just had to happen when most of the populace was at the hotel to see the stage go out. Mine host Barnard, followed by the crowd, came running and shouting, "Stick to him, Buzzelle." We stuck. With our long legs wound around Bill's barrel, and holding desperately to the horn of the saddle for dear life, we won out. We then headed down the road towards our destination, fifty miles away. All went merrily on the beautiful morning, until we had loped along for about ten miles, when again Bill went up into the air without warning and came down stiff legged, jumping all over night-gown and surplice, prayer book and brush, seemingly determined to scatter the missionary over the landscape. The saddle-bags were made of patent-leather, and began to rip, after a while falling down by Bill's side, and not knowing anything else to do he just bucked. We finally soothed his raw nerves. But what a dilemma. Miles from nowhere, and with a frisky horse. But luggage had to be retrieved, so we finally dismounted, collected our belongings, and waited for the stage to take the bags to Silver. We then mounted, with never a jump from Bill again. Horse and missionary rode many a weary mile through heat and cold over plain and mountain, and nary another argument. Good old Bill.

The west of early days, with its sparse population, its wide-open spaces, its lack of conveniences and comforts, lent itself to tragedy, and the missionary in those times rubbed up against it all too frequently. Boarding the train one chilly wintry night at Weiser,⁹ bound for the eastern end of the field, the conductor came along at once and said that there was a woman dying back in the immigrant car. Few of our readers probably have any idea of the immigrant car of former days. Roughly constructed, with few conveniences, the passengers furnished their own bedding. On entering we found a foul atmosphere, and an unkempt crowd. On one of the bunks lay the sick woman, a little baby by her side, and another child of three sitting near. The father was haggard-looking from lack of sleep and soap and water. We learned that they were settlers on the coast of Oregon, where the woman had contracted tuberculosis, and feeling

⁷*County seat of Owyhee County.*

⁸*West of Silver City.*

⁹*County seat of Washington County, across the Snake River from Oregon.*

that her days were numbered, longed to get back to the old home, Baby Head, Texas. They had sold everything. Their boat was held for three days at the Columbia Bar, the woman growing steadily weaker. The man said he had spent his last dime at Huntington for milk, the baby was sick, and the child hungry. We went through the train with the story and collected a goodly sum. We asked the conductor to wire Mrs. Collins, big Irish landlady, big of heart and big of body, of the R. R. hotel at Caldwell,¹⁰ and when we arrived there near midnight willing hands transferred the travelers to the hotel, where a clean bed and a warm room awaited the invalid. Good Dr. Lee was summoned, and ministered to the needs as best he could, insisting upon taking the little girl to his home. Women in the hotel soon bathed, dressed and fed the baby, while the father sought rest from his exhaustion. We watched by the woman's side through the night and just as it began to dawn, with a wan smile and a tender look, passed through the gate of death. In the morning we canvassed the town for funds to carry the needy to their destination. In one saloon after touching the barkeep, we saw three white men and a Chinaman gambling, and made our wants known. The whites finally chipped in four bits each, but John said no. We suggested a little persuasion on the part of the whites, which was duly given, and John came across. When we hear people talk of gamblers' generosity, we have a different story to relate. The evening train bore the travelers on their way—but the mother traveled alone.

FIRST SERVICE—FIRST FUNERAL

Early in September, a good many years ago, we left our home in the Middle West to labor under the great missionary bishop, Ethelbert Talbot, Bishop of Wyoming and Idaho, and the arrival of a callow youth at the scene of his labors, especially when that scene was on the last real frontier, was an important event. We passed through Shoshone, Mt. Home, Nampa, a part of the field in which we were to serve, and on through Boise and Idaho City to Placerville,¹¹ a ghost camp whose glory had long since dwindled to a few score souls, and were met by the Rev. Fred Crook, a missionary who was to be in a measure our tutor. He insisted on our remaining in the seclusion of this mining camp for a fortnight, in order that we might grow a beard to disguise our youthfulness. In due time we went to Boise, there meeting for the first time the Bishop, and then accompanying him for a couple of days' visitation. Arriving at Payette,¹² we were cast

¹⁰*County seat of Caldwell County.*

¹¹*North of Boise in Boise County.*

¹²*County seat of Payette County, across Snake River from Oregon.*

adrift and thrown on our own, with instruction to hold service that Sunday night. There are no recollections of that service—we must have gotten through somehow. If we made mistakes perhaps the congregation thought it was some new ritual imported from the East, that is, if they knew what ritual meant. The night was spent with the Rossi family, most gracious hosts, at Washoe, about three miles away. Monday morning we walked over to Payette, and were immediately informed that a sheep-herder had been stabbed in a drunken row the night before in a little brewery only a block or so from the Methodist church in which we had held our service. Young as we were, and inexperienced, we conceived the idea that a minister of Christ should visit those in trouble, and aid if possible. So we sought out the place where the wounded man lay, an old abandoned store building with a small room in the rear. We were met by the doctor in charge, and when we saw the doctor we knew the man would die. On an old dirty pallet lay the victim, groaning in pain. He was a German and spoke no English, and our German was nothing to write home about. But somehow we got along. He said the Lord's Prayer in his language, and we said it in ours, and we prayed as did he. At the railroad station we found that we had been court-martialed and found guilty by the Methodist and Baptist pastors, who loudly condemned us for ministering to a dying drunkard. Somehow we seemed to see God's child, our brother, lying on the old rags, dying because of sin. And die he did that night. The next day those in charge seemed surprised that we expected to hold a service for this stranger, but they acquiesced. A rough box was made and the body placed therein without much ceremony. But the coroner's jury had to sit, and it was late in the afternoon when they brought in their verdict. We read the service, the first burial service of the Church we had ever heard, a few rough sheep men standing by. At the conclusion the box was hoisted into the bed of a lumber wagon, we were given a seat with the driver, the bearers sitting on the coffin, and drove to the burying place, a mile or so from town and on the far side of a butte. The coffin was lowered into the shallow grave, and with difficulty, because of the failing light, we read the committal. Just as the words, "Dust to dust" were said, a coyote, far off in the sage brush, moaned out a doleful dirge. And so we buried somebody's wandering boy, far from the homes and graves of his kindred—but tears dropped on the fresh earth, and prayers wended their way to the God of mercy and peace. We had done what we could.

Idaho's roads in the early days had but one characteristic common to the splendid highways found there now, they led somewhere. But it was often-times difficult to follow where they were supposed

to lead. In all our field we cannot recall a really made road, except in the mountains, where the side of the hill had to be dug into to get around. These trails through the sage brush were hub deep in dust during the summer, and deeper still in mud in the rainy season, and when frozen were rough beyond description. The railroads ran only through trains, and these often arrived at a very inconvenient hour, and were frequently late by an hour or a day. So horse and buggy were sometimes necessary to keep our appointments. We had held service in Weiser in the morning, and were due at Payette in the evening, and desiring to proceed eastward after the evening service, we sought someone to drive down with us, and bring the rig back. Across from the rooms occupied by the missionary lived a young man and his two sisters, good church people, the girls having attended Brownell Hall in Omaha before coming to the far West. We suggested that the three should go with us to Payette, and they were delighted. Arriving there in due time we were disappointed to find that our notice of services had gone astray, and it being too late to drum up a congregation, we went on a little further and visited with our good friends, the Rossis, at Washoe. On starting back to Payette, we found the night very dark and rainy. We did not have the heart to let the young people go back alone over a road that was strange to them, as all Western roads were. So much to their relief we pushed on through Payette and headed for Weiser. The railroad lay directly to our left, and on our right was a range of low hills, and in front the Weiser river, only half a mile from the town. Two or three times in the journey we were compelled to get out and find the trail for the horses. After a time we expected to see the lights of Weiser, but for some unknown reason we were a very long time in getting to our destination. Hour after hour passed, and we were puzzling our brain to find an answer to the riddle. Midnight was near and no town. We had not crossed the railroad, nor had we climbed a hill, and we certainly had not crossed the river. Of a sudden we realized what had happened. A mile or so from the river an old race track ran into the road, and the horses had taken the old road and were pounding round and round on the track, getting nowhere. As soon as we realized our predicament we peered carefully through the mirk and soon caught the outline of the hills, then steering the horses to the right, we crossed the bridge and came to our journey's end. We never breathed the story, and probably the young folk often wondered at the long time it took to travel fourteen miles on a stormy night.

Pioneer days were cruel days in the far West, bearing heavily upon the poor and weak. And the poor predominated. The mining camps had largely petered out; the "Crime of '73" had closed down

many a promising silver mine; the cattle business was already in the hands of big barons; the sheep business was being monopolized by a few men like Bob Noble; settlers were making but a precarious living along the few creeks. In the Owyhee Mountains was considerable timber left from logging operations, good for fire wood, and to these tracts came many a down and outer, with little in the way of an outfit but an axe and a blanket. With no conveniences, it was not strange that many became ill, mostly with pneumonia, a disease that spelled certain death. Riding down from Silver City one day we were met by a rancher who complained bitterly because one of the choppers had come to his house sick and penniless seeking help. We dismounted and entered to find a man lying on an old quilt on the hard floor, with a gunny sack full of straw for a pillow, his labored breathing and general appearance announcing the dread scourge. By his side sat a lad of about twelve, forlorn and hungry-looking. Another boy, but a little older, soon came in. A physician would have been of little use, and none could be had. We rode on a couple of miles to Brunzell's¹³ place and secured a bottle of whiskey for the sufferer, and some provisions for the boys, and after trying to console and hearten the lads, rode on to Nampa, leaving orders to be notified when the man died. We had been home but a few hours when the word came, and in the early morning retraced our steps the forty-five miles to Reynold's Creek. Kindly hands had built a coffin, dug a grave, and brought the body thither. In the little acre of God we laid the man to rest, with a plea to our Heavenly Father's love, and two heavy-hearted, fatherless and friendless boys turned their faces to the Wood River country from whence they had come, going back to the little home to take upon their shoulders burdens heavy to bear, with sorrowful memories of the little neglected grave on the hillside far away. Neglected and forgotten graves on many a hillside, and dotting many a valley in the great West. It took strong men to carve out a civilization on the frontier—strong men, and suffering and tears.

Winter traveling in the mountains of Idaho was anything but a joy. In the Owyhee country not so much snow fell, but the drifts were tremendous, anywhere from ten to fifty feet or more. On the other side of the valley in the Saw Tooth Range, much snow fell, but always in a gentle way, so that there was a level field except in case of a snow-slide. Fall and winter going was comparatively simple, but when the first Chinook winds came in the spring time, rotting the snow, travel was almost impossible. We had an appointment at Rocky Bar¹⁴ late in March, and were warned by the old-timers against

¹³*In Owyhee County, north of Silver City.*

¹⁴*In Elmore County, north of Mountain Home and east of Boise.*

making the trip until the snow had disappeared. Probably because of the warning we persisted. The first twenty miles was covered in a wagon. Then we took to our feet. The mail carrier was the only other adventurer, and together we started on the trail. Occasionally we would have a stretch of easy going, and then the snow would be rotted so much that we would sink to our waists. At one place we went through the snow into a creek. Soaking wet, we pushed on for two or three miles to the only house in those parts, a small store at the forks of the road, and entering we asked for food and lodging, and a place to dry our wet clothes. We were brusquely told that we might have food, but under no circumstances could we stay the night. We informed the gentleman in no uncertain terms that we were to be his guests, whether he liked it or not, and being somewhat husky in those days, and having a determined look, we stayed. We planned an early start the next morning, hoping that the night would be cold enough to form a crust on the snow, and thus make walking possible. We arose at three, donned our clothes, wet and icy cold, and started. The walking was somewhat better, and in due time we arrived at Pine Grove, and found the so-called stage just starting on its return trip to Rocky Bar. It consisted of a cow-hide hitched to a horse, and on the hide was placed mail and express, and travelers and driver took turns riding on the hide, not an easy trick to learn. The horses' hoofs were built out in some way to make them larger and keep them from cutting through. And so we came to Rocky Bar, finding snow so deep as to be on a level with the ridge poles of the cabins, the occupants thereof being compelled to cut out steps from their door to the solid path made in the middle of the road. We held services, and on Monday started our return journey, stopping for the night at Pine Grove, and thus relieving our surly friend from entertaining us again. We learned the reason for the inhospitable attitude to be the fact that the man's wife was a mail order woman and so jealous was he of his prize that he allowed no traveler to behold her. We finally landed at Mt. Home, much more experienced in mountain traveling and too wise to try it again.

"There were giants in those days." William Ingraham Kip of California, layer of foundations; Benjamin Wistar Morris, of Oregon; Ozi William Whittaker, of Nevada, known and revered by every miner who knew the Comstock lode; Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, of Utah and Idaho and Montana, who met the Mormon horde and won their respect and admiration; and greatest of all, Ethelbert Talbot, Bishop of Wyoming and Idaho. A man of fine figure and commanding personality, a strong and handsome face, with a most genial smile over strength of jaw, with just a touch of Irish or Missouri brogue, he was

the ideal man for the West as the West was then constituted. An indefatigable worker, covering those two great States thoroughly, visiting every village and town and many cross-roads every year, traveling by rail when possible, by stage coach for many a weary mile, or if needs must on the back of a cayuse. Indefatigable himself, he demanded and received that kind of service from those who worked with him. After a long day in a stage coach, lumbering over roads hub deep in alkali dust, under broiling sun, he would hop into his room to clean some of the grime off, and then out for a run around among the people who waited his coming, going from house to house with cheery greeting and a cordial invitation to service that night. And how people flocked to hear him. A strong and inspiring preacher, he seemed to sense the calibre and needs of his congregation. Service over, then hours with friends who would gather to listen to his plans and wishes, interspersed with sparkling stories and fascinating reminiscences. Early morning and off again for another similar day. It was a glorious experience to spend a week with him in the field, but a rather tired sigh of relief when he carried his dynamic personality on to the next man. One wonders what he would have said to the plea that has been made that Idaho should be dismembered because the Bishop was compelled to ride a full day in a luxurious Pullman through the corner of two States in order to get to the northern stations. How well he wrought in Wyoming we only know from hearsay, but a year or so ago we listened to a most beautiful tribute to the effectiveness of his work in that State by the present Bishop, and the records bear eloquent tribute to his energy and devotion. In Idaho he left the Church the foremost religious body in the State, and the per capita strength was the equal of any diocese or jurisdiction in America. It was a privilege to have known this man. It was an inspiration to have worked by his side.

"There were giants in those days"—but giants did not do all the work. They traveled in seven-league boots from one end of the field to the other, but there was always a weary routine to be carried out, and the unsung heroes did a great and necessary work of planting and watering, and cultivating, making sacrifices that were great, and bearing the burden and heat of the day, with no applause and few bouquets. In the history of the Church in Idaho the Rev. Frederick W. Crook has a very real place. English by birth, his kin folk emigrated to Utah among the first converts to Mormonism. He early came under the influence of Bishop Tuttle, and was accepted as a candidate for Holy Orders. Why, is a mystery. Small of stature and weak of body, stammering in speech, already laid hold of by dread tuberculosis, it would hardly seem that he was desirable ma-

terial for the work that was needed in that frontier field. He was sent to Nashotah for his theological training, and while there was a classmate of the Rev. J. W. Prosser, the first rector of St. Andrew's, but did not graduate, as the climate proved too severe, and he was forced to return to Utah. We well recall his telling us with grim humor of that trip back to the west, how as the train reached Sherman, hemoptysis set in. An old lady sitting opposite came and peered down at him and said: "Is that from the nose or from the lungs? I had a son come out here looking just like that—and he died." Sick, and lonely, and discouraged, it was almost the last straw, and he turned to the wall and called the porter to draw the curtains. It may have been British persistency, or something like it, but with one lung gone and the other not so good, he carried on. It was to the care of this man that we were commended on our arrival in the far West. Arriving at Placerville, we looked out of the stage and saw this little man, bald-headed, red-whiskered, peering at us through thick specs. He greeted us, and almost immediately informed us that the silk hat that we had triumphantly worn on the stage coach, much to Scotty's disgust, would have to go, and that we would have to remain in Placerville until we grew a beard, as these Westerners would not tolerate either silk hats or beardless boys. During these days of preparation we began to learn something of the worth of this man, working under a physical handicap that would have militated against him anywhere, and was doubly hard here in this hard and sometimes cruel West. But year after year he fulfilled his allotted task. Later on in this same Placerville he was stricken with pneumonia, and but for the devoted services of a splendid doctor who providentially had located in this mountain town some time before, he must have ended his career. Dr. Wade, bless his heart, tended Crook with loving care, taking him to his own home, and ministering to him with skill and devotion. He won the fight, and Mr. Crook went to California to recuperate. A letter from him shortly after spoke of loneliness and desire to get back to the hill he loved and the people he served. About two o'clock one morning as we were changing cars at Nampa, we saw a couple of familiar-looking handbags coming along through the gloom. The traveler had returned. We forced him back onto the train and took him with us to our rooms at Weiser, where he stayed a month under our care. Then back to his field, and the round of service and pastoral care, doing again those things that endeared him to many a settler, and no doubt today there may be found some old inhabitant who treasures the memory of this little man as something precious. Then there came a time when a new Bishop took charge "who knew not Joseph," and Mr. Crook sought work elsewhere. Still guided by

the missionary urge, he became Archdeacon of Sacramento. Small of body, but big of heart, tenderly sympathetic to human needs, with a love for his Master that was beautiful to see, he has passed to his reward, and sure we are that the Master he served on rugged mountain and burning plain has said to him, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto these ye did it unto me," "Well done, good and faithful servant . . . enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

"There were giants in those days," but somehow the giants had a hard time getting men to take the rough work of frontier missions, seminarians preferring the East or some already built work. But the sage brush towns and the mining camps must be shepherded, and so in his need Bishop Talbot imported a number of Irish Bible readers, somewhat akin to the Church Army. And were they put on a hot spot? Green as grass, and suddenly set down in the wild and woolly West, and left to paddle their own canoe. Be it said to their everlasting credit most of them made good. We boarded a train at 2 A. M. at Nampa bound for Boise, and shortly noticed a little dark man, followed by a small woman and several small children, all loaded with bags and bundles, but at that hour we were not greatly interested in our fellow travelers. The next morning, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Crook, we hied ourselves to Mrs. Agnew's boarding house for breakfast. Mrs. Agnew's was the mecca for many travelers in those days, for she was renowned for her cooking, and had two pretty daughters, Lizzie and Laura. We were scarcely seated when the door opened and in trooped the family we had seen on the train. We were introduced to Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Murphy, and the gentleman informed us that he had come to be a fellow worker. Interested of course, we plied him with questions concerning Ireland and the work which he had been doing. He told a lurid tale of religious persecutions, of church buildings damaged, and religious processions stoned. When we suggested that Orangeman and Romanist seemed about on a par in this regard, the little man hopped to his feet and with clenched fist hammered on the table and cried: "I have fought the papists since I was born, and I will fight them 'till I die." We shushed him, and informed him that he was in America now. He had not learned to turn the other cheek, but certainly knew how to re-turn the papist's cobble stone. A month or so later we again came to Boise, and, lo, the first persons we saw were Patrick and Father Van der Heyden, the fine young Roman priest at Boise, walking side by side in very jovial mood. Thus quickly did the melting pot do its work. Mr. Murphy was stationed at Moscow for some years and is now living in Washington, D. C.

Some time later the Bishop succeeded in getting five of the gradu-

ates of the General Seminary to come to Wyoming and Idaho, promising to remain five years, and not to marry in that period. If our memory serves not one of them fulfilled their promise. The Bishop should have bargained with the girls instead. Another recruit about this time was Herman Page, from Cambridge, now Bishop of Michigan. We were somewhat instrumental in bringing Page out, as he fell for our glowing account of eternal sunshine and broad prairies, and grand mountains. Then months later Herman wrote us accusing us of deep mendacity, as he said he had not seen the sun since he left Boston. Men came, and men went, but the work was pushed forward, and no part of the great State was without the mothering care of Blessed Church.

In a field covering 200 miles along the railroad, and nearly as much cross-lots by stage, with a dozen or more towns to look after, the problem of the scattered settlers was a difficult one. One day in Silver City we were approached by a woman who said her home was in Oreana,¹⁵ a little settlement, the center of a large cattle country. She requested us to make the place a visit that a couple of her children might receive the sacrament of baptism. Of course we promised, and the next month struck out from Mountain Home on old Bill, headed for Silver, with the intention of stopping at Oreana for the service. We spent the night at Grand View,¹⁶ a hotel, the iridescent dream of some Eastern promoters, with thirty rooms unoccupied and a grand view of sage brush as far as the eye could reach, and a little bit of the river as it flowed hurriedly to the sea. Up early the next morning and after breakfast we pushed on under the burning heat towards Oreana, arriving there at about 11, expecting to have the baptism and a lunch before going on to our destination. A buxom young lady met us at the door and said that her mother had not expected us so soon, and was washing, and would we stop on our way back, and she would arrange for a service in the evening. No suggestion of lunch. We watered Bill and set out again, remembering that our friend Bill Crocheron lived somewhere on Sinker Creek, perhaps ten miles away, and always certain of a good dinner there. Mile after mile, and the sun grew hotter, and Bill went slower and then we realized that we had taken the left fork of the trail instead of the right, and were going away from our dinner instead of towards it. However, we pushed on, and soon arrived at the brim of the little valley through which ran Sinker Creek. Bill realized it as soon as we did, and rushed down the steep bank of shale to where the cool water gurgled so invitingly. The horse pushed his muzzle into the

¹⁵*East of Silver City and south of the Snake River.*

¹⁶*In Owyhee County, south bank of Snake River and east of Silver City.*

stream and the rider slid off the saddle and dropped onto his stomach and drank and drank till he could hold no more. Laving his face and hands in the water until he was somewhat cooled, he lifted his head for a look around, and there in the middle of the stream, not fifty feet above, was the carcass of a beef critter. Well, it was a good drink just the same. We rested a while, tightened out belt, foreswore a dinner, and set our face towards Silver, arriving in time to give Bill a good feed of hay and oats, and stow away a fair-sized meal. *We drank coffee.*

The Oreana children must be baptized. Returning from Silver City the following Monday, we arrived in Oreana early in the afternoon, baptized the little ones, and after supper went down to the school house and prepared for the service. Time passed and no congregation. A little nettled, for a long ride awaited us after the service, we packed up, went up to the corral and saddled Bill, and started off. As we passed the house a man came running out to ask why we were not to have the service, saying that the congregation was gathered in the parlor. So we dismounted, vested, and went on with the service, and it was not until we knelt for prayers that we became aware that we were still wearing our spurs. With the exception of one cowboy who had been imbibing too much and roused himself in the middle of the sermon to ask what it was all about, the congregation was most appreciative.¹⁷ Three hours or more of lonely riding through the darkness of the plains, and then to bed at Grand View, and home in the morning.

Calls for weddings sometimes came from far away places, and a little later on we were asked to come to Oreana again to read the marriage service for a very sweet girl who had come from Michigan to teach Oreana's young ideas how to shoot, and had found time to enamor the heart of one of the leading cow men. We rode Bill to Silver, arriving there just in time for supper, and then changed to a buck-board that had been sent to take us the rest of the way to Oreana. The first few miles were tame enough as we climbed to War Eagle summit, but once there the buckaroo snapped his whip and those cayuses tore down the other side with little regard for jutting rocks, sharp turns and steep descents. We held on for dear life, hoping to get to the level safely. And we did. From there on the ponies loped along very sedately, proving to us that said cowboy was trying to make us squeal. He was evidently disappointed that the parson didn't holler. We were housed in a large western home, the partitions being just boards stood on end, and lined with cheese cloth.

¹⁷*It was the first service of the Church here, and may have been the last, as none of the later maps seem to note the place at all.*

With three babies in the house, and the noise and bustle of preparation there was not much sleep. At five we were called, at six married the couple, who left immediately for Nampa and a trip to the coast. Then cowboy and ponies and a leisurely trip back over the road we had come the night before. Then old Bill and home.

Idaho never had the rabid wildness of the Bret Harte and Wild Bill atmosphere, but in a country so sparsely settled, men were sometimes prone to become a law unto themselves, and homicidal crimes were unduly frequent. One day we were on our way to Jordan and Pleasant Valleys for services, and about an hour after we had passed through DeLamar a messenger overtook us, stating that a man named Steele had been killed, and requesting us to return in time for the funeral. Steele had formerly lived in Mt. Home, and had been accused by some of our Church people of being too intimate with the inside of our coal box. But he was poor, and chopping sage brush for fuel was something of a job. When the mines opened at DeLamar he rushed up to the mountain, and with many others was crowded into tents and shacks along the creek, this contiguousness tended to promote disputes and disturbances. Steele went a little too far, and his next door neighbor came out with a shotgun and blew his head off. We pondered over these conditions and determined to take a wallop at the lawlessness and general apathy of the citizens toward crime. The service was held in the school house. The mine shut down for the occasion, and the entire populace crowded into and around the building. A bunch of Cornish miners furnished the music, and having read the burial service, we launched out in a specific denunciation of the moral laxity of the community, its disregard for law and decency, its willingness to let crime go unpunished, and called upon decent-minded people to unite and put an end to the reign of lawlessness. About the same line one hears from most law and order proponents. We said all we knew, and we said it right energetically. Then we buried the victim on the mountain side. The whistle blew, the stamps began again their incessant pounding, the saloons filled up with a noisy throng, and the only evidence of any impression made was a message from the lower town warning us to keep above the rock. We grabbed out hat and ostentatiously paraded the length of the lower town, meeting with only courteous greeting from all those we met. The murderer was brought to trial at Silver City, and William E. Borah, of Boise, a promising young lawyer recently from the East, prosecuted the case, and although the defendant was represented by a lawyer who was woozy drunk during most of the trial, succeeded in getting only a seven years sentence. East is east, and west is west, but human nature seems to be but little affected by geography.

Warm-hearted, generous-souled people mingled with those of a baser sort even as here, and we close these "Memories" with a thankful heart that God in His providence led us to that frontier land, trusting that perhaps "out of the mouths of babes and sucklings" some of His message of love was carried to hungry hearts, and that some seed was sown that in other years, tended and watered by other and wiser hands, bore fruit fit for the Master's use.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH

ADDITIONAL LETTERS OF THE REVEREND ABRAHAM BEACH:
1772-1791

By Walter Herbert Stowe

THOSE who read carefully the "Letters of the Reverend Abraham Beach, D.D.: 1768-1784," as published in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for June, 1934, must have noticed that he refers to letters by himself to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the S. P. G.) which were missing from the group therein published. The Library of Congress did not have copies of them. The writer therefore requested Sir Edward Midwinter, K. B. E., of the Archives Department of the S. P. G., to search for them. He most generously responded by sending copies of Beach's letters for December 1, 1772, July 2, 1778, October 2, 1780, March ?, 1783, and October 30, 1783. Mr. Beach wrote to the Society between May 27, 1774, and December 6, 1775, and concerning this letter Sir Edward Midwinter states under date of March 12, 1935:

"Mr. Beach's correspondence with the S. P. G. between May 27th, 1774, and December 6th, 1775, does not seem to be extant among our archives, but a letter from him dated Feb. 10th, 1775, is mentioned in one of our Journals among the proceedings of a General Meeting of the Society held on May 19th, 1775."

When Sir Edward Midwinter arrived in America for the celebration of the Sesqui-Centennial of the organization of the Diocese of New Jersey on May 1st, 1935, he brought with him three additional letters of Mr. Beach to the Society, not heretofore available, dated August 4, 1784; February 8, 1785; and October 24, 1791. All of these are printed below and the Library of Congress has photographed the copies for its files.

The letter of December 1, 1772, indicates the general prosperity of the Church in America just before the War of Independence, and a growing spirit of self-help among the people. Letters from missionaries in colonies other than New Jersey bear this out, but it was

a condition soon to be ruined by the War. This letter also portrays the regular ministrations of the Society's missionaries to Negroes as well as white people. In every letter but one, in which he reports his official acts, he reports the baptisms of Negroes and in that of November 27, 1771, he relates his encouraging experience in gathering them every Sunday evening for instruction with the result that they had become "sincere and orderly Christians."

The letter of July 2, 1778, reveals the Church's increasing difficulties in the midst of war; the Missionary's unwillingness to compromise with his oath of allegiance to the King; the necessity of closing the church as a consequence of this unwillingness; and his conscientious ministrations of visits, baptisms, marriages and burials in spite of this handicap, not only in New Brunswick but in the other missions, then destitute of ministers, within a radius of forty miles.

The letter of October 2, 1780, shows the growing concern on the part of the more spiritually-minded laity due to the cessation of public worship, the Missionary's admission of the dangers, his strait betwixt fidelity to his ordination vow and his desire to lessen the growing evils by opening the church for public worship, and his urgent pleading for counsel in his perplexity. From his letter of January 4, 1782,¹ we know that on Christmas Day, 1781, he opened the church, "read prayers and preached to a decent congregation at New Brunswick," having learned that Dr. Chandler (of Elizabethtown, but then in London) had written the Connecticut clergy that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London had recommended the omission of the collects for the King and the Royal Family if thereby they could continue public services.

At the very moment that Mr. Beach was re-opening the church for services, a letter was on the high seas from Dr. Chandler detailing the character of the ruling of the ecclesiastical authorities of the Church of England. I recently found this letter in Samuel A. Clark's "History of St. John's Church, Elizabeth Town, New Jersey," Appendix C, pp. 198-200, published by J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1857, Philadelphia. Dated December 3d, 1781, it must have reached New Brunswick after Christmas Day. This letter reveals several things: (1) Beach's desire to have unquestioned authority for doing what he did do; (2) His pastoral fidelity in caring for those in need such as Dr. Chandler's family; (3) Dr. Chandler's temperament and state of mind; and (4) the actual ruling of the Bishop of London and the Venerable Society, probably with the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury, since he was president of the S. P. G.

¹See *Historical Magazine* for June, 1934, pp. 89-92.

DR. CHANDLER'S LETTER TO MR. BEACH

My Dear Sir:

The only reason why I have denied myself the pleasure of once in a while writing to you, was an apprehension that you might be brought into trouble, should it be known or suspected that you held any correspondence with such an outcast as I am. The same reason would still restrain my pen; but my daughter Polly assures me that you would be glad to hear directly from me, on a certain point with regard to which you formerly consulted me; if therefore I do wrong in thus writing, you must flog Polly.

I need not tell you how much I approve of your conduct in shutting up your Church, as soon as you was not suffered to make use of the Liturgy in its full dimensions. Your backwardness to open it, when urged by your people, and pressed by other cogent reasons, untill you knew the mind of the Society &c., is equally commendable. The state of your case and that of the Connecticut Clergy, I presented to the Society and to the Bishop of London. Though they did not choose to give a *formal* answer in this kind of *casuistry*, yet they authorized me to assure all parties concerned that, under the present situation of affairs, the use of the Liturgy, with omitting the prayers for the King, provided others for the Congress were not substituted in their place, would not meet with their censure or disapprobation. Of this I desired Mr. Cooke² to inform you, as he tells me he did; but as you seem to be desirous of having it immediately from me, I now give it to you under my own hand and seal.

The *Canons* of the Church must for the present, give way to the CANNON of Congress; and *strict regularity* of conduct is the business of *regular* times. In the meanwhile, an honest man will not give up his *principles*; and while he is not able to fulfill the *letter* of the law, he will be careful not to counteract the *spirit* of it.

Having ventured to put pen to paper, I must not omit the opportunity of most cordially thanking you for your kind and never failing attention to my forlorn family. Of this I have most pleasing accounts from time to time; and I wish I were able to express, or otherwise to convince you, how much I feel myself obliged to you and Mrs. Beach for such exuberant goodness.

²Rev. Samuel Cooke, M.A. (Cambridge). Ordained in England and became S. P. G. Missionary in Monmouth County, N. J., about 1749, having charge of the churches at Shrewsbury, Freehold and Middletown. He went to England in 1775, and on his return in 1776 his services were largely confined to the army, occasionally officiating in Christ Church, New Brunswick, and thus assisting Mr. Beach. He was transferred to Frederickton, New Brunswick, Canada, in 1785, where on May 23, 1795, he and his son were drowned in crossing the river. The Bishop of Nova Scotia said of him, "Never was a minister of the Gospel more beloved and esteemed, or more universally lamented in his death. All the respectable people, not only of his parish, but of the neighboring country, went into deep mourning on this melancholy occasion." (Sprague's Annals, Vol. V., p. 224.)

The late blow³ in Virginia has given us a shock, but has not upset us. Though the clouds at present are rather thick about us, I am far, very far, from desponding. I think matters will take a right turn and then the event will be right. The English and Dutch, as I have it from unquestionable information, have actually and formally consented to accept of the mediation of Russia, towards an accommodation, which will be the natural consequence. After being disengaged from a Dutch war, we shall be able to bang the French and Spaniards. I am sorry that I cannot be more particular. I hate to write under such restraints. I will therefore conclude, with my best compliments to good Mrs. Beach, consoling myself with the reflection that I have brought you into no great jeopardy, by thus stealing an opportunity to assure you that I am, with the most cordial esteem and gratitude

Yours ever affectionately
T. B. Chandler.

London Decr. 3d, 1781.
Rev'd Mr. A. Beach.

The letter of March (?), 1783, contains pathetic evidence of the distress of missionaries who, like Beach, stuck to their posts. Combined with the loss of financial support from his congregation goes hand in hand the rise in the cost of living—an unfailing accompaniment of war. Undoubtedly this letter cost Mr. Beach considerable pain and only the pressing needs of his wife and five children could drive him to ask for increased compensation, to which he was richly entitled in view of his being the only missionary in New Jersey, faithfully ministering to all the congregations within his reach.

The letter of October 30, 1783, acknowledges the financial relief from the Society, his temporary appointment to Perth Amboy, and reveals the Church's gloomy condition, the general religious indifference, the high taxes, the consequent lack of support from the people, the utter dearth of candidates for the ministry, and the dubious future. But Mr. Beach continues faithful both in prayer and labor within his forty-mile circle. The "Day of Distress" was the day of testing for him and the Church, and out of it was to come the nobler conception of "a free Church in a free State." In effecting this Mr. Beach was to play no mean part, and he lived to see, (he died in 1828), the reconstituted, self-governing Church within the Anglican communion mobilizing her forces for the conquest of the frontier.

The letter of August 4th, 1784, is a revelation. It has long been known, of course, that Trinity Church, New York, was torn by factions due to the war, but it was not known hitherto that Abraham

³The surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, October 19, 1781.

Beach was the peacemaker. To have resolved the quarrels between the loyalists and patriots so satisfactorily and within so short a time must have been a feat of some proportions and speaks volumes for the confidence which both parties had in Mr. Beach. The settlement finally effected made Dr. Provoost, Rector; Benjamin Moore, first Assistant Minister; and Beach himself, second Assistant Minister. We may suppose that in addition to the feeling of gratitude on the part of the interested parties, there was a feeling that it would be well to have the peacemaker right at hand to see that the peace was kept! We must give Beach credit for magnanimity. The opportunity being what it was, it was altogether possible for him to have wormed himself into second place, if not first. He chose the better part. Virtue was rewarded to this extent, that the problem of his growing family and their education was solved. In spite of his increased duties and contemplated resignation as the Society's Missionary, he continues to look after the Society's interests, even though remonstrating with a brother priest—Frazer—on the latter's intemperance could not have been a pleasant duty. He also points out the danger to the Society's property through forced seizure if someone is not delegated with power to protect it.

In his letter of February 8th, 1785, Mr. Beach recalls his seventeen years in the Society's service and expresses his gratitude for their "many Favours" and his willingness to serve them in the future without compensation. The dangers to the property rights of those on the losing side in the war are clearly outlined in this letter. The property at Perth Amboy was in jeopardy and Beach acted vigorously. The condition of the Fort Hunter property was still uncertain.

The subject of the Vermont lands would require a volume in itself. It was not finally settled until 1928—almost a century and a half after Beach's letter. A brief summary must suffice here, but it will be enough to show the influence of the past on the present. The Honorable John Spargo, Registrar of the Diocese of Vermont and President of the Vermont Historical Society, writes as follows:⁴

"The Diocese of Vermont still derives a not inconsiderable sum annually from these lands. You must understand that from the beginning the Protestant Episcopal Church was unpopular in the New Hampshire Grants, later the State of Vermont. In some cases the 500 acres of land granted to the S. P. G. in the charters were diverted to the other churches, principally Congregationalist. There were no—or too few—local Episcopalians to protest. There were other alienations also, the Legislature passing various acts directed to the end of eliminating the S. P. G. titles or rights.

⁴*Letter of August 20, 1935, to the writer.*

"In part by litigation and in part by the local insistence of small local groups and interested individuals, the S. P. G. rights were conserved and maintained in quite a number of instances. In 1823 the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that the holding of the lands by the S. P. G. was not invalidated by political changes in the country, but the revenues must be devoted to Vermont purposes. Having established its rights to the lands in a number of places, the S. P. G. held these lands for many years in trust for the Diocese of Vermont through a Board of Land Grants in Vermont. This arrangement went on for a good many years, Bishop Hall devoting a great deal of time and energy to the development of it and to the recovery of as much as possible of the old 'Gospel Lands.' In 1928 the S. P. G. finally and formally transferred them to the Diocese of Vermont, title being vested in the Trustees of the Diocese of Vermont."

The lands eventually saved to the Church are in Bennington, Windsor, Rutland, Addison, Windham, Chittenden, Essex, Washington, Orange and Franklin Counties. Some \$3,000.00 per year in rentals come from these lands, and in addition there is what is called the "Permanent Fund" of \$11,392.00 which has accumulated from the sale of timber as distinct from the rents of the lots.

This letter foreshadows the future in that it indicates the beginning of that suspicion of Mr. Uzal Ogden's loyalty to the Church which probably was at the bottom of General Convention's refusal in 1799⁵ to confirm his election as first Bishop of New Jersey the preceding year. The refusal of confirmation was ostensibly on grounds of irregularity in Ogden's election, but the New Jersey Convention of 1799 removed that objection and still the Church at large refused to confirm him. Beach was unquestionably influential in the General Convention of 1799, and served as President of the House of Deputies in 1801. Ogden's future conduct appears to have substantiated the suspicions of his loyalty. He became involved in a serious quarrel with his congregation—Trinity Church, Newark—and the Convention of the Diocese of New Jersey dissolved the pastoral relationship. Ogden resisted, repudiated the authority of the Convention, and finally joined the Presbyterians.

Mr. Beach goes on to explain the changes so far made in the use of the Prayer Book, awaiting the action of what was to be the first General Convention of 1785 in Philadelphia. The need of the Episcopate "to perpetuate the Succession & for the Purposes of Dis-

⁵*Bishop White states (Memoirs, 1880 edition, p. 209): "There was a more important reason at the bottom of the objection made. The truth is, that the gentleman elected was considered by his brethren generally as being more attached to the doctrines and the practices obtaining in some other churches than to those of his own."*

cipline," and the separation of the Methodists from the Church under Dr. Coke⁶ with its probable success "should we be much longer neglected," are noted.

What was probably Beach's last letter to the S. P. G., that of October 24th, 1791, is fittingly enough a request for justice to one of his former colleagues in New Jersey—the Rev. William Ayres, S. P. G. Missionary at Spotswood and Freehold from 1768-1783. Ayres had been incapacitated through insanity from 1775-1780, but in the latter year he recovered and was restored to full salary in place of the annuity granted during his disability. The pathos of his case, intensified by his fear "lest he should offend against the State by corresponding with its enemies," is only relieved by the warm friendship of Beach for him, ever ready to champion the cause of a brother priest in need.

The discovery of these hitherto unknown letters, far from detracting in the slightest from the nobility of Beach's character, enhances it. It was because the Church had men like Beach and Fowler⁷ that God was able to bring her through the "dark days"—the last decade of the Eighteenth Century and the first decade of the Nineteenth Century—into the clearer light of deepened faith and renewed courage which appeared on the horizon of 1811.

Dr. Beach's closing years of service in Trinity Church, New York, were somewhat embittered by conflict between him and Hobart. This precipitated Beach's resignation in 1813 and his retirement to his farm on the Raritan River near New Brunswick. There has recently come to light among the Croes Papers in Rutgers University Library a letter from Ann S. Croes, daughter of Bishop Croes, to her brother, the Rev. John Croes, Jr. (then at Shrewsbury, N. J.), dated New Brunswick, February 15, 1819. This contains the good news that Beach and Hobart were reconciled about ten years before the death of both. The part of the letter of great moment to us reads as follows:

"You inquire if Mr. Chase⁸ is consecrated. He was, last Thursday, without, I believe much difficulty. Papa returned, with Bishop Hobart, on Saturday in the midst of the storm, and after dinner the Bp. (Hobart) hired a sleigh and payed Doct. Beach a visit. He had first by letter expressed a wish to bury all the past in oblivion, and offered to visit him, on his return, and Dr. B(each) in answer said, that as his letter breathed so conciliating a spirit, he could not but answer it, in the same conciliatory manner, and

⁶See below: note on Dr. Coke.

⁷See *Historical Magazine*, Vol. III., pp. 270-279.

⁸Philander Chase, Bishop of Ohio, consecrated February 11, 1819, in Philadelphia by Bishop White and Bishops Hobart, Kemp and Croes.

he should be pleased to see him, whenever, in his way through B(runswick) it was convenient for him to stop."

It is good to know that both of these men had such greatness of soul and that, in this regard, they both possessed the spirit of their common Lord and Master.

Here follow the letters in full.

New Brunswick. Dec: 1st. 1772.

Reverend Sir,

Your Favour of the 24 of March I received, & am very happy that my Endeavour to discharge my Duty met with Acceptance; this will always be an additional Motive for me with the greatest Cheerfulness to exert myself in the Promotion of Virtue & Religion.

The Books you were good enough to mention, are not yet come to hand, but when they do, I shall endeavour to distribute them in such a Manner as may promote the good Intentions of the Society.

My last informed you, that the people of New Brunswick had entered into a Subscription for repairing the Church and erecting a Steeple; I have now the pleasure to acquaint you that the Church is thoroughly repaired—the Steeple almost finished—& a Bell of upwards of Seven Hundred Weight hung in it. The Congregation were, by no means, able to bear so great an Expence—but have been much assisted by many well-disposed People in other places. The People of Piscataqua have likewise set on foot a Subscription for repairing their Church, (which is very much wanted,) & I hope will be accomplished next Summer.

Since my last have baptised at New Brunswick 29 Whites, & 3 Blacks; at Piscataqua 7 Whites & 3 Blacks, & have had 6 new Communicants.

In the Month of May I took the Liberty of drawing on the Society's Treasurer, in Favour of John Hites, for half a Year's Salary due at Lady Day; & in October I again drew in Favour of Mercer & Shenk, & beg the Acceptance of the Bills.

I am, Reverend Sir,

Yours, & the Society's
much obliged & obedient
humble Servant
Abraham Beach.

2nd July 1778

Reverend Sir,

Although it is impossible for me, under my present Circumstances to be very particular in the Account of my Mission, yet thus much I beg leave to affirm—that I have ever endeavoured to act a consistant and conscientious Part; never to deviate from my Duty as a Clergyman of the Church of England, even in a single Instance, however

difficult such a Line of Conduct has been. It is true one Disadvantage hath resulted from this Perseverance, & that is the Necessity of shutting, for the present, the Doors of the Church; but this Inconvenience I have endeavoured to lessen by Attention in other Respects; by visiting, baptising, & performing other Duties of my Profession, not only in my own Mission, but in the many vacant ones around the Country. Within the Year, I have baptised in my own Mission, Thirty Four. Married Six, & Buried Three. At Elisabeth Town baptised Twelve, & buried Three. At Spotswood I have baptised Eleven. And expect as soon as I can do it with safety to visit Shrewsbury & other Places in Monmouth County, having received an Invitation from some of the Inhabitants who have Children unbaptised.

It would give me great Satisfaction to receive a Letter from the Society with any Directions they may think proper to give respecting my future Conduct.

I have taken the Liberty to draw upon the Society's Treasurer for £50 Sterling, being One Year, & one Quarter's Salary due on St. John's Day last, in Favour of Samuel Kemble Esq. of New York, & beg the Acceptance of the Bills.

I am, Reverend Sir, Yours & the

Society's much obliged Humble Servant

Abraham Beach.

New Brunswick. 2nd July, 1778.

2nd Oct 1780

Reverend Sir,

In my letter to the Society, on the 24th of March last, I acquainted them, that I had made it my business, on every Application, to visit distant Missions, to baptise Children, bury the Dead & perform other Ecclesiastical Duties. The same Practice I still continue; endeavouring to answer the Society's Expectations so far at least, as the distracted State of the Country will permit.

Within the last Half Year, have baptised in my own Mission Twenty Two Whites, & Nine Blacks. At Spotswood Twenty One. At Shrewsbury Nine. At Amboy One. At Woodbridge One. And at Elizabeth Town Four.

Although the Church in this Country hath suffered much in these tempestuous Times, yet I may with Truth assure the Society, that by far the greater Part of her Members, within the Circle of my Acquaintance, remain firm & unshaken in their Principles, under all the Disadvantages of their present Situation. Many of them in different Parts of the Country, have frequently solicited me to open the Church, & to perform so much of the Service as is still permitted. They observe on this Occasion, that tho' some *Omissions* are required, no *Additions* as to the Service. That not having an Opportunity of worshipping God agreeably to their Consciences, many gradually fall into a Neglect

of the Sabbath, & the Vices that unavoidably follow such a Neglect. That their Children are growing up without a proper Sense of Religion, & are losing an Opportunity for virtuous Instruction that can never return. That, when Wickedness in an uncommon Degree prevails in the Land, Public Worship is more essentially necessary than at other Times, to reclaim them from the Practice of it.

To these, and many other Arguments which have been made use of to me, I have always opposed; the Declaration I signed at my Ordination, to perform Divine Service according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, & no other Way; the Oaths I then took—& my own Feelings in omitting that Part of the Service required by those who now bear Sway amongst us.

These Considerations have hitherto prevented my Compliance with their Request. At the same Time, as the Society's Missionary, I would wish to be directed by their Advice in this Particular, as well as in every other Part of my Conduct; & hope they will be kind enough to favour me with it, as soon as their Convenience may admit of it, which will add one more to the many Obligations already conferred on me.

I have taken the Liberty to draw on the Society's Treasurer for One Year's Salary due at Michaelmas last, in Favour of Samuel Kemble Esq. of New York, and beg the Acceptance of the Bill.

I am, Reverend Sir,
Yours & the Society's much
obliged Humble Servant
Abraham Beach.

New Brunswick
2nd. October 1780.

March 1783

Reverend Sir,

In my Letter of the 1st. of October last, I gave the Society a State of my own, & the several other Missions in this Province, which I occasionally visit. I now beg Leave to address them on a Subject of some Delicacy, with respect to myself.

For the Sixteen Years that I have been in the Society's Service, it hath been my constant Study (as far as I was able) to answer their benevolent Intentions, by devoting the whole of my Time & Intention to my Duty, as their Missionary; not only in my *own*, but in *every Mission* which happened at any time to be vacant. And as my Wants were *few*, they were amply supplied by the Bounty of the Society, & the Subscriptions of my People. But the unhappy Disturbances, which for several Years past have prevailed in this Country, have entirely deprived me of the Assistance I formerly received from my People, at the very time I stand most in need of it. Many Families have taken

Refuge in New York, & those that remain are so reduced in their Circumstances, that they have it not in their Power, (though their Inclination is good) to contribute anyThing towards my Support. Few, if any of the Society's Missions have suffered so much as *this*, owing to its Situation on the Lines, & its having been, for so many Years, the Seat of War.

The Society will, I hope, do me the Justice to believe, that the request I am now to make, is dictated by Real Necessity. Were the Inconveniences of my present Situation confined to *myself*, I should never have so much injured my Feelings as to *reveal* them, even to a Society, of all others, the most humane & benevolent. But when I look round and see a Wife & five Children entirely depending on me for Support, & find it utterly out of my Power to answer their pressing Calls, I am reduced to partake myself to the only Resource I have remaining, an Application to the Society for such Addition to my Stipend as they may think proper, or an Allowance of the Salary formerly given to the Missionary at Amboy for doing the Duty of that Mission; this, with what I now receive from the Society will make me comfortable. I would not be understood as wishing to own favour—I consider myself devoted to the Service of the Society, & where ever that Service requires my Attendance, I am ready to go, all I ask, with regard to this World, is my daily Bread, unembarrassed with secular Affairs unbecoming my Clerical Character.

I have exerted my utmost Endeavours to struggle through the Difficulties which surround me, without troubling the Society with them; but the daily Rise of the Necessaries of Life to *Three* & some Articles to even Ten Times their Value in Time of Peace, together with the increasing Expenses of a growing Family, render this Application absolutely necessary.

As I hope my Letter of the 1st. of last October arrived safe, I shall defer my *Notitia* till Autumn, when I expect to write again. In the mean Time, I would wish the Society to know that I still continue to visit destitute Congregations in the Province, & to do my Duty in my own Mission with the pleasing Hope of being in some Degree useful to the Cause of Virtue & Religion.

I have this Day, taken the Liberty to draw on the Treasurer of the Society for Twenty Pounds Sterling due this Day for Half a Year's Salary in Favour of Davis Vanskaak Esq. of New York, & beg the Acceptance of the Bill.

I am, Reverend Sir, Yours

& the Society's most obliged, and
most Obedient Humble Servant
Abraham Beach.

New Brunswick.
? March 1783.

New Brunswick. 30th October 1783.

Reverend Sir,

Your Favour of the 8th July enclosing my appoint-

ment as temporary missionary at Amboy, have duely received. I now beg Leave through you, to return the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, my most sincere and grateful Acknowledgements for that Appointment, & for their generous Gratiuity of Twenty Five Pounds.

You will be pleased to assure them that my utmost Endeavours shall not be wanting to render myself not altogether unworthy *those*, & the other Favours I am continually receiving from that venerable Body. As the Society naturally expects, & as it is my Duty to give them all the Information I can, with Respect to Religion in this Part of the World, I take the Liberty to observe that Religion is not in general esteemed here *the one Thing needful*, & in consequence is obliged to give place to Matters of infinitely less Importance.

In New England, indeed, the old Law obliging every Person to contribute some Pittance, in Proportion to his Abilities, to the Clergyman of his own Communion, still exists; but affords very little Assistance to the Clergy of our Church, by Reason of the trifling Sum it raises, & the many Applications made to them from Individuals of their Congregations to *remit*, or at least *delay* the Payments of those Dues; & to refuse Compliance with those Applications, especially when their Parishioners are so very much burden'd with other Taxes, would render them disgustful to their People, & consequently prevent their Usefulness in the Church. But even this Provision, inadequate as it is to the Support of the Gospel, is denied in all other parts of the Continent. From New York to Georgia, both inclusive, Religion is left to itself; no legal Provision being made for it, in all that extensive Tract of Country. The Clergy thereof, of all Denominations are obliged to subsist, where they subsist at all, on the voluntary Subscriptions of their People; & how trifling & how precarious these must be, is easily conceived, when we consider the Distresses of the Inhabitants, the heavy Taxes they labour under, & *above* all, the cold Indifference with Respect to Religion, which I believe, always discovers itself amongst the greater Part of Mankind when *left to themselves*. In this Country however, Religion is at present, so much neglected, that our future Prospects concerning it are exceedingly gloomy. Very few Candidates for the Ministry appear amongst any Denomination of Christians, unless the *Methodist Teachers* may be called such; & in our own Church *not one* within the Circle of my Acquaintance, & it is pretty extensive. Whether the People of this Country will ever so far attend to their real Interest as to give Public Countenance & Support to Religion is very uncertain. In Maryland indeed, the Assembly have lately given Leave to their Clergy to bring in a Bill for that Purpose; but whether it will find its Way through the different Houses of their Legislature, is yet

unknown. However that may be, I think it very improbable that *New Jersey* will ever follow such an Example, at least in this Generation.

With Respect to the Question you ask me, "In what Manner is Duty" performed? What Omissions are Made? Whether any Additions or Changes "are required?" I beg Leave to observe, that for my own Part, ever since I reopened the Church, I have regularly used the whole of our Service, excepting the Petitions for the King, Royal Family, and the Nobility; which were absolutely forbidden to be used. I have made no Additions whatever to the Liturgy of the Church, nor are any, as yet, required. In New England the Clergy perform the Service in the same Manner that I do. In Philadelphia they introduce the Prayer used in England for the Parliament when sitting, with this alteration, instead of High Court of Parliament, & etc., they substitute the word *Congress*. And this Practice, I am informed, is adopted further to the Southward; & I presume would be pleasing to many of our Parishioners in this Quarter, though disagreeable to others. From the Account I have now given of the State of Religion in this Country, the Society will perceive that our Church here is in a very precarious and unsettled Condition. But I still trust that the Divine Founder of it will not utterly forsake us in this Day of our Distress. And to my fervant Prayers for the Prosperity of the Church, my best Endeavours are *added*; however *feeble*, they are sincere and well-meant. I have, for the Space of almost Two Years, officiated every Second Sunday at Brunswick, every *Fourth* at Piscataqua; & the other Fourth Sunday I have given to the destitute Congregations in a circle of Forty Miles around me; particularly Amboy, Shrewsbury, Burlington, Elizabeth Town, Newark, & Second River; & have frequently preached on Week Days, at *these & other* Places. But as the Society have appointed me, for the present, Missionary at Amboy, I propose to pay more particular Attention to that Mission, & prevent further Destruction to the Houses & other Property belonging to the Society.

Since my Letter of October 1st. 1782, I have baptised at Brunswick 29. At Piscataqua 8. At Burlington 25. At Shrewsbury 14. At Elizabeth Town 12. At Amboy 11. At Second River 2. At Woodbridge 1. Have married 24 Couple, & buried 17.—Before I received your Letter which gave me Leave to draw for a Gratiuity of Twenty Five Pounds, I had already drawn for my last Half Year's Salary ending at Michaelmas, being Twenty Pounds, in Favour of Barnadus Lagrange Esq., & have now taken the Liberty to draw for the additional Twenty Five Pounds, in Favour of the Rev. Doctor Charles Inglis.

I am, Reverend Sir,

Yours & the Society's
obliged Humble Servant
Abraham Beach.

(Copy)

New Brunswick, 4th Augu. 1784.

Reverend Sir,

I make no Doubt but the Society must before this Time, have been acquainted with the Disturbances which have arisen in the Church at New York, in Consequence of the Party-Heats and Animosities which the late War hath so plentifully produced in this Country.

I now beg Leave, through you Sir, to inform the Society, how far these Disputes have influenced my Conduct. At a Time when that numerous and most respectable Community, was almost torn to Pieces by Faction, & threatened even with entire Extirpation,—I received from their present Vestry an Invitation to officiate for them, on a particular Sunday which they named, assuring me at the same Time, that unless I complied with their Request, there would be no Service that Day in either of the Churches. I thought it my Duty to comply. When I came to New York, as I happened to be acquainted with many Gentlemen of Influence in both Parties, I took the Liberty to recommend to them that peacable & forgiving Temper, which is absolutely necessary to the *Wellbeing*, if not to the very *Existance* of the Church.

I declared my Sentiments to them very freely & honestly, that the Peace & Harmony of the Congregation could not be restored, unless the Revd. Mr. Moore should again officiate. To effect this Point was by no means an easy Matter; for the Friends of Mr. Moore, *on the one side*, could not think of his coming into the Church in any other Character, than as Rector.—The present Vestry, *on the other*, could not be persuaded to elect even as an *assistant* a Gentleman with whom they had been engaged in a very warm & irritating Dispute. As this was an Object of great Consequence, I thought I could not better employ Two or Three Weekes, than in Endeavours to effect it. I have accordingly spent that Time lately in New York, and have now the pleasure to acquaint the Society that Passion hath so far subsided, & Prejudice worn off from both Parties, that Mr. Moore hath, within a few days, been elected Assistant Minister, & hath accepted the Appointment, to the general Satisfaction of both Sides, & that a Reconciliation has been begun, & is as nearly perfected as it is possible to suppose it can be in so short a Time, & it is expected that the Peace of the Church will shortly be completely restored.

In the course of the Transaction the Vestry of New York have given me an invitation to their Church as an Assistant Minister. As I have a young Family rising round me, *whose Education*, next to the *Prosperity of the Church* is my principal Object; & to which my present Stipend is *inadequate*—I purpose, *until the Society's pleasure shall be known*, to preach at New York that Part of the Time which I now give to vacant Congregations in Jersey; & to make up

that Deficiency, as much as possible by preaching to those vacant Congregations on Week Days; (to continue on Sundays in my own Mission of Brunswick as usual).

Had there not appeared a Prospect of my Being more usefully employed, I should by no Means, have ventured to make even this Alteration without the Society's particular Directions—which I now shall impatiently expect; should they consent to my removing to New York, & accepting the Appointment of £500 Currency, which is offered me there; the Revd. Mr. Bodown⁹ would supply my place at Brunswick.

I wish the Society to be assured, that *I so sensibly feel* the Obligations I am under to that venerable Body, that I cannot think of taking any Step of this Sort however advantageous it may appear, without their Advice & Permission.

On conversing with Mr. Frazer,¹⁰ & representing to him the fatal Consequences of his Intemperance, he assured me he had entirely overcome the Temptation he formerly had to that Vice—Time only can discover whether his Opinion is well-founded or not. He sailed last Fryday for Halifax, where he hath some Expectations of being provided for, as Chaplain to a Regiment there—whether he succeeds or not, he will return again to this Part of the country, as his Family are still here.

I think it my duty to add that I have been informed that the Commissioners for taking Possession of confiscated Estates, have discovered some Doubt respecting a Tract of valuable Land belonging to the Society, lying on the Mohawk River; should no Person at the spot have Power to claim on their Behalf, may ~~not~~ arise Difficulties hereafter with regard to it?

The Society will not, I flatter myself, think this Hint impertinent in me, but will do me the Justice to believe, that it proceeds from the Desire I feel, to prevent any Injury to a Corporation I am under great Obligations to; and which I shall ever venerate and respect.

I am Reverend Sir,
Yours & the Society's
most obliged, most obedient
& very Humble Servt.
Abraham Beach.

Rev. Dr. Morice, Secy.

New York 8th Febr'y. 1785.

Reverend Sir,

Your Fav^r of the 2^d Nov^r I received by the Packet; & am now to desire you would be so kind as ~~represent~~ present my most

⁹The Rev. John Bowden ~~was~~ in New York, did not go to New Brunswick but to Norwalk, Conn.

¹⁰The Rev. William Frazer served Amwell, N. J. (north of Trenton, near the present Lambertville), Kingwood, and Muskenetcunc from 1768-82. He was stripped and otherwise persecuted by the Revolutionists of 1778 until he was too poor to move.

grateful Acknowledgments to the Society, for the many Favours I have received from them, during the Seventeen Years I had the Honor of being their Missionary; & to assure them that I shall not think my Obligations to serve them *at an End*, because I have exchanged New Brunswick for New York. It will *always* be my highest Ambition to render every Service in my Power to a Society so useful to the Cause of Christianity, & consequently, to the Happiness of Mankind. Indeed, I now feel an *additional* Pleasure in serving them, as it is in my Power to do it, without being chargeable to them.

In consequence of the Society's Directions to me, about Eighteen Months ago, I took charge of their Landed Property at Amboy; which was in a most ruinous Condition. With the Assistance of the People of the Place, I have boarded up the Church & Parsonage, & thus prevented further Injuries to them from the Weather. The House & Ferry were rented for £15 the last Year & £25 *this*. The whole of which Rents I desired the Vestry to make use of in necessary Repairs to the Wharf & Ferry House: by which Means they may become more valuable the next year, & enable them to make other Repairs. In the Course of this Business, I met with some Difficulty from one George Leslie, who pretended a Right to the Ferry, as Heir at Law to Mr. George Wollox, who was the Donor. On searching the Records, I found the Will of Mr. Wollox, which proved in the clearest Manner, the Invalidity of Leslie's Claim.

The Land I had reference to in my last, is the Farm belonging to the Society at Fort Hunter. It is, as I am informed, a good Piece of Land. I therefore engaged the Attention of the Persons appointed to take Possession of Confiscated Estates—they were however, prevented from proceeding in the Business, by some Friends to the Church of Influence in the Government. Mr. Stewart being in Canada could not afford any Assistance, or receive any Benefit from it.

The late Governor Wentworth¹¹ of New Hampshire, when he granted those Lands which now compose the State of *Vermont*, reserved in each Township, 500 Acres of Land to the Society for ever; & the same Number of Acres for a Glebe; Attempts have been made lately, to pervert these Lands to other Purposes; & some of them are already

¹¹Benning Wentworth, royal governor of New Hampshire, assuming that the rather vague limits of his province, like those of Connecticut and Massachusetts, extended westward to a line 20 m. east of the Hudson River, proceeded to make grants of land between the Connecticut River and Lake Champlain. From 1749 to 1764 he granted 131 townships in each of which 500 acres were reserved to the S. P. G. and 500 acres additional for a glebe. This region was commonly known as the New Hampshire Grants. The governor of New York claimed the right of the New Hampshire governor to grant these lands. The matter was never settled until the erection of the State of Vermont in 1777 and New York's surrender of its claims in 1784. The payment to it of \$30,000. On March 4, 1791, Vermont was the first State after the original thirteen to be admitted to the Union.

possess'd by Individuals without Authority from any Quarter. These Lands, in the Course of a few Years may be very valuable to the Society, if *properly attended to*; if *neglected*, will undoubtedly fall into other Hands. There are, indeed, in many other Parts of this Country, Lands, belonging to the Society, in the same Predicament.

I have seen Mr. Frazer but once, since his Return from Nova Scotia, he met with no Encouragement there, but remains at Amwell without doing any Duty. I once flattered myself with an Expectation of his Reformation, & am not still *without Hopes*—though a longer Time is necessary to determine the Matter. I conversed with Mr. Ogden the other Day, on the Subject of Irregularity, which you mentioned in your Letter. He acquainted me that he had frequently preached to Congregations who were unacquainted with the Service of our Church, & consequently none of them able to join in it; for the Sake of *Decency* therefore he had laid aside the *Liturgy*, & made use of *Ex-temporary* Prayers. That he had given the same Reason for his Conduct on those Occasions, in a Letter to Dr. Chandler and that he had, some time ago, sent to you the Resignation of his Salary; being sufficiently provided for at Elizabeth-Town, Newark & New York, at which Places he preaches alternately, & receives a very decent Support. I did not presume to dispute with Mr. Ogden on the Propriety of his Conduct with respect to the Liturgy, whether he was or *was not* justifiable, even under the Circumstances he mentioned; but candidly informed him of my Intention to acquaint the Society with the Circumstances of the Affair, that they may have an Opportunity of judging for themselves.

In order to answer the Questions you ask me, respecting the Alteration that hath taken place in the Service of our Church, since the Separation of the Two Countries, I am to acquaint you that, at the Convention¹² in this City of the Representatives of the Church, in October last from 8 of the States, it was the universal Opinion that no other Alteration should be made in the Liturgy, than what the late Change of Government rendered necessary—but deferred the further Consideration of the Subject 'till their Meeting at Philadelphia next October. It is very probable they will adopt the Prayer for the High Court of Parliament, (*mutatis mutandis*). Most of the Clergy throughout the Continent, make use of *that* now, & that *only*—but on my coming to this City, I found *greater* Alterations had been made *here*, & it is not prudent to alter them, 'till the Convention determine on the Matter. At present, where the King is prayed for, in the Litiny, the Name of the Governor is substituted—& the Words "*Rulers of thy People*,"

¹²Preliminary Convention of October 6, 1784. See *Historical Magazine*, Vol. IV., pp. 251-2.

in *other Places*, as in the Collect for the King in the Evening Service—& in *that* in the Communion Service.

The Church in this Country labours under very great Difficulties from the Want of an Episcopate to *perpetuate the Succession*, & for the Purpose of Discipline. Mr. Westley hath taken Advantage of our Embarrassments, & sent over a Dr. Coke¹³ (or Colne?), with the Title of *Superintendent*, with Authority from *him*, to ordain Bishops, Priests & Deacons. He hath already ordained a number of Methodist

¹³Thomas Coke (1747-1814), English divine, the first Methodist bishop, was born at Brecon, where his father was a well-to-do apothecary. He was educated at Jesus College, Oxford, taking the degree of M.A. in 1770 and that of D.C.L. in 1775. From 1772 to 1776 he was curate at South Petherton in Somerset, whence his rector dismissed him for adopting the open-air and cottage services introduced by John Wesley, with whom he had become acquainted. After serving on the London Wesleyan circuit he was in 1782 appointed president of the Conference in Ireland, a position which he frequently held in the intervals of his many voyages to America.

Coke was ordained "Superintendent" of the Methodist Societies in the New World, together with Thomas Vasey and Richard Whatcoat, in John Wesley's private room in Bristol, England, on September 2, 1784. On September 18th the three set sail for America and arrived in New York early in November, 1784. At the famous Christmas Conference of 1784 in Baltimore, the Methodist societies broke completely away from the Church of England and the colonial Episcopal Church, and became the Methodist Episcopal Church, about sixty of the whole number of eighty-one preachers being present.

Did Wesley intend that a Church, separate and independent of his authority, should be established? The late Professor J. A. Faulkner, after a careful study of all the documents (Chap. XIII, "Burning Questions in Historic Christianity," Abingdon Press, 1930), concluded that John Wesley did not so intend. Not only did Wesley not intend that a church, "separate and independent of his authority," should be established, but, according to Coke's own written statement at a later date (1791):

"I am not sure but I went further in the separation of our Church in America than Mr. Wesley, from whom I had received my commission, did intend. He did indeed solemnly invest me, as far as he had a right to do, with Episcopal authority, but did not intend, I think, that an entire separation should take place. He, being pressed by our friends on this side of the water for ministers to administer the sacraments to them (there being very few of the clergy of the Church of England then in the States), went further, I am sure, than he would have gone, if he had foreseen some events which followed. And this I am certain of—that he is now sorry for the separation."

In Bishop White's "Memoirs" (DeCosta Edition, 1880, pp. 195-200, and Appendix, pp. 408-413), Dr. Coke's approaches to Bishops White, Madison and Seabury for a reunion of the Methodists with the Episcopal Church are detailed. In a long letter to Bishop White (from which the above passage is quoted), dated Richmond, Virginia, April 24, 1791, Dr. Coke outlined his plan, which was in substance as follows:

"That all the Methodist ministers, at the time in connection, were to receive Episcopal ordination, as also those who should come forwards in the future within the connection; such ministers to remain under the government of the then superintendents and their successors."

Dr. Coke stated in his letter that the Methodists then (1791) numbered above 60,000 adults and "about 250 travelling ministers and preachers; besides a great number of local preachers, very far exceeding the number of travelling preachers." The adherents, however, he estimated to number 300,000 adults and, counting children, would total 750,000, one-fifth of whom were blacks.

In his letter to Bishop Seabury, Coke had some additional suggestions:

"That although the Methodists would have confidence in any engagements which should be made by the present bishops (of the Episcopal Church in America), yet there might in the future be some, who, on the arrival of their inferior grades of preachers to a competency to the ministry, would not admit them

Teachers, who have formed a separate Communion in *this City, & in other Places*. His Design, evidently, is to *draw off* the Members of our Church in her present helpless Condition; he hath not hitherto, been *very successful*; but should we be much longer neglected, his Purposes, in all human Probability will be answered.

I have taken the Liberty to draw on the Society's Treasurer for Ten Pounds Sterling, which compleats my Salary up to Christmas last, in Fav^r of Mr. James Rivington,

as proposed in the letter—that to guard against the danger of this, there would be use in consecrating Mr. Asbury to the Episcopacy—and that although there would not be the same reasons in his (Dr. Coke's) case, because he was a resident of England, yet, as he should probably, while he lived, occasionally visit America, it would not be fit, considering he was Mr. Asbury's senior, that he should appear in a lower character than this gentleman." (White, p. 198.)

Bishop Madison had very much at heart the desire of effecting a reunion with the Methodists. "He was so sanguine as to believe, that by an accommodation to them in a few instances, they would be induced to give up their peculiar discipline, and conform to the leading parts of the doctrine, the worship, and the discipline of the Episcopal Church. It is to be noted, that he had no idea of comprehending them, on the condition of their continuing embodied, as at present."

Bishop White was skeptical of the willingness of the Methodists to accept Bishop Madison's ideas, but "approving the motive," he agreed to the resolution passed by the House of Bishops (consisting of Seabury, White, Provost and Madison) in the General Convention of 1792. As sent to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, the resolution read:

"The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, ever bearing in mind the sacred obligation which attends all the followers of Christ, to avoid divisions among themselves, and anxious to promote that union for which our Lord and Saviour so earnestly prayed, do hereby declare to the Christian world, that, uninfluenced by any other considerations than those of duty as Christians, and an earnest desire for the prosperity of pure Christianity, and the furtherance of our holy religion, they are ready and willing to unite and form one body with any religious society which shall be influenced by the same Catholic spirit. And in order that this Christian end may be the more easily effected, they further declare, that all things in which the great essentials of Christianity or the characteristic principles of their Church are not concerned, they are willing to leave to future discussion; being ready to alter or modify those points which, in the opinion of the Protestant Episcopal Church, are subject to human alteration. And it is hereby recommended to the state conventions, to adopt such measures or propose such conferences with Christians of other denominations, as to themselves may be thought most prudent, and report accordingly to the ensuing General Convention."

And how did the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies receive this communication?

"On the reading of this in the House of Deputies, they were astonished, and considered it altogether preposterous; tending to produce distrust of the stability of the system of the Episcopal Church, without the least prospect of embracing any other religious body. The members generally mentioned, as a matter of indulgence, that they would permit the withdrawing of the paper; no notice to be taken of it . . . the bishops silently withdrew it, agreeably to leave given." (White, p. 196.)

Five years before this, in 1787, the Methodist Conference changed Dr. Coke's title to "bishop," a nomenclature which he tried in vain to introduce into the English conference, of which he was president in 1787 and 1805. He died on a missionary voyage to Ceylon, May 3, 1814.

& wish the Acceptance of the Bill. I am, with every Sentiment of Affection, Esteem & Regard, Rev^d Sir Yours, & the Society's most obliged & obed^t Hum^l Serv^t

Abraham Beach.

New York 24th Oct^r 1791.

Reverend Sir,

In consequence of an Application I made through you to the Society, in a Letter dated the 25th Apr^l 1789, in behalf of the Rev^d Mr. Dibble¹⁴ of Stamford & the Rev^d Mr. Ayers¹⁵ of Spotswood, (Two of the Society's former Missionaries;) I soon after received a Letter from you, referring the *former* to his Majesty's Commiss^r for American Claims; & granting the *latter* a Gratuity of Ten Pounds Sterl^g

Though Mr. Ayers & his Family were almost perishing with Hunger, Cold & Nakedness, he could not be prevailed on, for the Space of nearly Two Years, to avail himself of this Bounty of the Society. Whenever I spoke to him on the Subject, he discovered Remains of Insanity, & seem'd distress'd lest he should offend against the State by corresponding with its Enemies.

Compelled by dire Necessity, at length, however, he ventured to this City, sometime in the Month of May last; & with Difficulty I then prevailed on him to draw on the Society's Treasurer for the Ten Pounds, which had been so long *granted*, without being applied for—& he accordingly did so in fav^r of Mess^{rs} Moses Rogers & C^o Merch^{ts} here. The Money which Mr. Ayers received for the Bill, with some Additions made to it by a few charitable Persons, enabled him to return to his Family with some of the *Necessaries of Life*, & a *glad Heart*; relying for future Support, on that Good Providence which had sustained him in the past.

After this detail, you will easily conceive how much I was hurt, as well as surprised, at receiving Information this Morning, from Mr. Rogers, that Mr. Ayers's Bill was returned to him protested, with all the Formalities of that Business. It is impossible this could have happened but by Mistake, I therefore take the earliest Opportunity to give you *Information* of it, not in the least doubting but you will have it rectified.

I am, Rev^d Sir Yours & the Society's obliged Hum^l Serv^t
Abrⁿ Beach.

¹⁴The Rev. Ebenezer Dibblee, M.A. from Yale and D.D. from Columbia, had been a Congregational minister. He was ordained in England in 1748 and served the colonial Church in Norwalk and Stamford, Conn., 1747-1783.

¹⁵The Rev. William Ayres, S. P. G. Missionary at Spotswood and Freehold, N. J., 1768-1783. Incapacitated through insanity 1775-1780. Recovered in latter year and restored to full salary in place of annuity granted during his affliction.

BOOK REVIEWS

Calvary Church Yesterday and Today. A Centennial History by Samuel Shoemaker, Rector of Calvary Church. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, London and Edinburgh. Pp. 324. 1936.

One by one the larger churches in the City of New York are publishing their Parish Histories. Last year it was Saint Bartholomew's; now Calvary marks its centennial year with a volume which is worthy to stand in the front rank. It is appropriately dedicated to "the world-wide family of Calvary Church." This is the story of a parish which for ninety years has resisted the impelling urge to move uptown in the wake of its more privileged parishioners. It began its work when the population of New York was but two hundred and seventy thousand and in a section almost destitute of churches of any kind. Its beginnings were as small as the grain of mustard seed; actually it was the outcome of a Sunday School conducted by the students of the General Theological Seminary under the direction of Professor John McVickar, of Columbia University. The parish was incorporated September 19, 1836. Beginning as a free church, that policy was abandoned under straitened financial circumstances. The one hundred years as here recorded have been years of light and shade. At times the altar fire died down, but never went out. The earlier years are the record of heroic endeavor and steadfast faith on the part of the few.

Later Calvary became one of the leading parishes of the city. It has numbered among its rectors such notable men as Francis Lister Hawks, a golden-mouthed orator, whose Southern sympathies during the Civil War brought to an abrupt end one of the most brilliant ministries in the annals of the Church in New York. He was followed by Arthur Cleveland Coxe, who became Bishop of Western New York, and who is aptly described in this volume as "scholar, singer and seer." Then came Edward A. Washburn, to whom full justice has as yet never been given. He was not only a great preacher and a born theologian, but also a pioneer Broad Churchman of the school of Brooks and Greer. Mr. Shoemaker might well have given

a little more space to Washburn's large influence in the development of liberal thought in the Church during that period. Henry Yates Satterlee lacked Washburn's brilliance, but he was a great pastor under whose ministry Calvary blossomed as the rose. On his election as Bishop of Washington the parish turned to Philadelphia and chose the Rev. Dr. J. Lewis Parks as rector. As a preacher he was greatly gifted: incisive, witty, a true Christian gentleman. It fell to his lot to witness great changes in the character of the population with a consequent falling of financial resources. The Chapel was perforce sold, it having served its original purpose and was no longer needed. His successor was the Rev. Theodore Sedgwick, who revived the pastoral ministry of Dr. Satterlee and with rare unselfishness sacrificed himself for the welfare of the parish.

The two final chapters of this volume cover the period of the rectorship of the author of this Parish History and are written with admirable restraint. They enshrine a unique story, for Calvary Church for the past ten years has been inseparably associated in the public mind with what is called in these pages "The Oxford Group." That this would be inevitable must have been known to the vestry when the call to the rectorship was extended to Mr. Shoemaker. But they made the venture and old Calvary has taken on a new lease of life. The last chapter on "The Church and the World" is a thrilling story of the development of the Oxford Group Movement not only in the parish, but in the larger world. It does not fall within the province of this reviewer to pass judgment on this Movement. His work is confined to an estimate of how well, or otherwise, the story is told. When the time comes for a History of the Oxford Group Movement to be written much valuable material will be found enshrined in this Centennial History.

The Appendix contains a list of Memorials, Clergy, early pew-holders, Wardens and Vestrymen, and is followed by an excellent index. The volume is beautifully printed and the illustrations are of real historical value.

—E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Men of Zeal: The Romance of American Methodist Beginnings. By William Warren Sweet. The Abingdon Press. P. 208.

Professor Sweet is an acknowledged authority on the early days of Methodism in the United States of America, though one might be inclined to challenge the statement in the jacket that he "is the only scholar devoting his time exclusively to the study of American Church History." The six chapters comprising this book were delivered in connection with the "Drew Lectureship in Biography."

To students of the history of the Episcopal Church it is interesting to note that

the first chapter deals with Devereux Jarratt, minister of Bath Parish, Dinwiddie Co., Virginia, who is justly described as "Forerunner." Dr. Sweet rightly points out that early Methodism here made its greatest strides in Virginia and Maryland, where the way had been prepared by other religious influences. Among those influences the author sets the Evangelical clergy of the then Established Church, "chief among whom was Devereux Jarratt." For the larger part of his ministry Jarratt encouraged the work of the itinerant Methodist preachers and there is an interesting letter which he wrote John Wesley appealing for more "helpers."

Other lectures deal in interesting fashion with some of the pioneer Methodist preachers, including Pilmore and Vasey, who later were ordained in the Episcopal Church. New light is shed on the famous Baltimore Conference, at which the Methodist Episcopal Church in America was created. In his treatment of the Episcopal Church, Dr. Sweet is eminently fair. It may be noted that on page 107 the year of Seabury's consecration is given as 1785; it should read 1784. On page 180 it is said that "Bishop Provoost, of New York, considered the affairs of the church so hopeless that he resigned his bishopric." This is surely an error. His letter, which is on record, gave as the reason for resignation "ill health, and some melancholy occurrences in my family and an ardent wish to retire from all public employment." Moreover, Provoost never resigned his "bishopric." What he did resign was his *jurisdiction* as Bishop of New York. The Bibliography is welcome, but where is the Index?

—E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

A Bishop Beloved: Joseph Horsfall Johnson, 1847-1928. By W. Bertrand Stevens. Morehouse Publishing Co. 1936.

In five brief chapters Bishop Johnson of Los Angeles is described as the Man, the Bishop, the Friend, the Educator, and the Citizen. In all these capacities he enriched life and was greatly beloved. For eight years Bishop Stevens served as his coadjutor, and out of that close association has written a beautiful tribute to the memory of a good man and true.

Old Chelsea and Saint Peter's Church: The Centennial History of a New York City Parish. By Samuel White Patterson, A.M., Ph.D. The Friebele Press. pp. 147.

This is an extremely good Parish History from every point of view. It is full of literary charm and allusion and a pleasure to handle. The author has had a life-long association with the parish and writes out of the fulness of knowledge. Old Chelsea was a village on the far outskirts of New York when St. Peter's was founded in 1831 and was a place of resort in the summer months. The church has the unique advantage of close association with the General Theological Seminary. Church services were begun in the east building of the Seminary in 1827 by Professors Bird Wilson and Samuel H. Turner, and the parish was incorporated four years later. Its lay patron, saint and benefactor was Clement C. Moore, Professor of Hebrew in the Seminary, and the author of "The Night Before Christmas." The story of parish life is gradually unfolded and coupled with it the development of Old Chelsea. The book is valuable alike from the point of view of church history and that of a small community.

—E. C. C.



THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK, IN EARLY DAYS

Erected in 1825 these were the first buildings and remained the only ones until 1883. They are still a part of the Seminary



CHELSEA HOUSE

The home of Bishop Moore, on a hill near what is now 23rd Street and Ninth Avenue, in the heart of New York. In this house Dr. Moore was born and spent his life.



DR. CLEMENT C. MOORE

Son of the Bishop of New York and author of the childhood classic "'Twas the Night Before Christmas."



THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK

Built on land which Dr. Moore deeded to the Seminary. His portrait hangs in the refectory and on Christmas Eve the students twine evergreens around it.

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FOREWORD

It has often been said, and rightly, that the reality and depth of the Church's concern with the missionary enterprise is the best index of its vitality. With equal justice it may be maintained that the degree of interest that the Church takes in the education of its ministry measures the strength of its belief in its own mission. Indeed, the provision of an educated ministry is a necessary part of the response to our Lord's command, "Go, teach." Because the whole world of human thought and effort and aspirations is to be claimed for the Lord Christ men must be trained to set forth the truths of the Christian faith in relation to the needs intellectual, moral and spiritual of their own day. It was then a significant moment in the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church when it was resolved to establish a General Theological Seminary to have "the united support of the whole Church in these United States and be under the superintendence and control of the General Convention." It was thus recognized that while men might prepare for the ministry under private direction, that while room and place must be left for local initiative in organizing diocesan seminaries, the Church as a whole must acknowledge its responsibility and in one institution at least the unity in diversity of its mind and life must be adequately represented. So for more than a hundred years the General Theological Seminary has been the official seminary of the Church. The "united support" has hardly been forthcoming, so that the institution has had to depend in the main for its material progress on the generous benefactions of the few rather than as was originally intended on the modest contributions of the many. But the chapters from its history which follow will, I believe, show that the intention expressed in placing the Seminary "under the superintendence and control of

the General Convention" has been fairly fulfilled. If at times it has seemed a storm-center rather than a center of unity, it is because there has been no controversy, no movement of thought within the Church which has not been reflected in the life of the Seminary. But always there has come in the end mutual understanding, and men have gone forth to their ministry with a deepened sense of the richness of the fellowship in Christ in which all share. A Belgian monk has well said, "The infallible criterion by which to judge of anything from the supernatural point of view consists in this: to ask whether it helps or hinders the reunion of men with God, and through God of men one with another." Through the travail of the years the Seminary has increasingly discovered the meaning of this truth, and has been seeking to translate it into genuine comradeship of work and prayer, and therefore it looks forward confidently to the service it may render in the years to come.

HUGHELL FOSBROKE,
Dean of the General Theological Seminary.

THE ORGANIZATION AND EARLY YEARS OF THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

By Edward Rochie Hardy, Jr.

THE establishment of theological seminaries in the United States in the early nineteenth century may to some extent be regarded as part of the movement of national expansion which marked the period. A general revival of religion, of which the well-known renewal of vigor in the Episcopal Church after 1810 was one aspect, was part of this movement and naturally expressed itself in religious organizations and institutions of various sorts. A further point of contact with the spirit of the times may be seen in the controversial character of the American church history of 1800-1860, which sometimes makes the history of the Episcopal church seem to consist of a series of battles between partisan or sectional groups. Some of the joy of battle and ardent pursuit of particular interests which marks the national history of the period will be found in its ecclesiastical history, even in the annals of an academic institution.¹

As in the parallel cases of organizations for the encouragement of Sunday Schools and for the support of missions, the Episcopal Church was not the first to establish theological seminaries, but neither did it lag far behind. While some institutions primarily for theological education date from an earlier period, the theological seminary as a regular institution in America dates from the establishment of the Andover Seminary in 1808, the immediate occasion of which was the election of a Unitarian Professor of Theology at Harvard in 1805. There followed in 1810 the Dutch Reformed seminary at New Brunswick and in 1812 the Presbyterian seminary at Princeton. Within the next few years several other Presbyterian and Congregational seminaries were founded, and the divinity schools were separated from the undergraduate colleges at Yale and Harvard. Baptist and Lutheran schools came soon afterwards.² Obviously so widespread a movement indicates a widespread need. In many parts of the country standards of higher education had declined after the Revolu-

¹Cf. account of the period in W. W. Sweet, *The Story of Religions in America*, New York, 1930, x-571 pp., Chaps. 14-18.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 348, 363-364.

tion.³ Those churches which specially valued an educated ministry were anxious to preserve the tradition of theological learning. The colleges, as their standards improved, were sufficiently occupied with other subjects, and were not prepared to meet this demand. The organization of theological studies, previously usually private, into a formal professional course naturally followed.

Theological education had, of course, been carried on in the Anglican Church in colonial times. In Virginia theology was taught at William and Mary, where there were two full professorships in the divinity course out of the six professorships in the college. Most of the clergy, however, especially in the north, studied under the direction of some learned priest. At one time Dr. Samuel Johnson had several students at Stratford, Connecticut, his household amounting to a small seminary.⁴

In 1789 the first Canons of the American Church required that the ordinand should show that he

is sufficiently acquainted with the New Testament in the original Greek, and can give an account of his faith in the Latin tongue.

Bishops could dispense with Latin and Greek only with the consent of two-thirds of their Conventions. In 1792 this rather slight description of theological studies was amplified by the further requirement:

that he hath a competent knowledge of moral philosophy, church history and the belles lettres, and hath paid attention to rhetoric and pulpit eloquence, as the means of giving additional efficacy to his labors.

Changes in subsequent General Conventions related mainly to the power of dispensation.⁵ In 1801, however, a resolution was passed requesting the House of Bishops to prepare a course of studies for candidates for Holy Orders. According to its Journal, the House "considered and established" this course at the end of a morning session of the Convention of 1804 at which considerable other business had been taken up. It is probable that, like the Convention Pastoral Letters of the period, the Course of Ecclesiastical Studies was drawn up by Bishop White. The order suggested is interesting. The

³Cf. Prof. Turner's description of his college course, 1806-1807, *Samuel H. Turner, Autobiography*, New York, 1863, 292 pp., p. 15.

⁴Cf. account in C. H. Brewer, *History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church before 1835*, New Haven, 1924, xi-362 pp., esp. pp. 13-23.

⁵These canons are conveniently brought together in E. A. White, *Constitution and Canons for the Government of the Protestant Episcopal Church . . . Annotated*, New York, 1924, viii-1061 pp., pp. 199-201.

student should begin with "books in proof of the divine authority of Christianity," paying attention to the arguments of Deists, if possible in their own writings. Then he should study the Scriptures, with approved commentators and introductions. Church history to the Council of Nicaea should be largely studied from original sources and accompanied by the reading of most of the Fathers of the period. At this stage the questions of our Lord's divinity and of episcopacy are to be considered, since the writers considered reflect the earliest views of the Church on the subject. Once more, writers on both sides of controversies are mentioned. Church history should then be resumed, with another digression into controversy when the Reformation period is reached. Not until this point is divinity to be read systematically. Sermons, works on the Prayer Book and the pastoral office, and the Constitution and Canons are mentioned in conclusion. The document ends with a short list of most essential books and a more extended bibliography, taken from an English source.⁶ It has seemed worth while to summarize this interesting document in some detail, since it remained authoritative for some time, and the ideas behind it exercised considerable influence on the early curriculum of the General Seminary. It is interesting to see Bishop White recommending a primarily historical approach to the study of Christian beliefs and institutions. Certainly this did not indicate any doubt on his part of the Church's position, but rather a confidence that the grounds of that position would clearly appear if it were fairly studied. In 1808 the provision for examination in the subjects required by Canon and in the Course of Studies was made more definite, and a knowledge of Hebrew was recommended.⁷ Otherwise the provisions cited remained the Church's official directions for theological studies during the period covered by this paper.

The system of private instruction of candidates continued. Bishop White was perhaps the most distinguished director of students. Hobart was among those who read theology under his direction, as well as two later professors of the General Seminary, Turner and Wilson. Dr. Turner has left a description of this stage in his education, which seems to have followed the lines laid down in the Course of Studies. He visited Bishop White in his study, at first bi-weekly and then monthly, for over three years (1807-1811). His account expresses appreciation of White's habit of recommending books on both sides of controversies, but regrets that he was not subjected to

⁶William Stevens Perry, ed., *Journals of General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, 1785-1835*, Claremont, 1874, 3 vols., vol. 1, pp. 276, 310, 315-320.

⁷White, *op. cit.*, pp. 201, 211-212.

more examination.⁸ Some years later (1815-1817) W. A. Muhlenberg was one of White's students. He and two others "recited regularly" to White's assistant, the future Bishop Kemper, and met once a fortnight with the Bishop to read essays on assigned subjects. Some practical experience was gained by accompanying Kemper on pastoral visits.⁹ The system of individual training had come one step nearer to a formally organized seminary.

By this time the project of the establishment of a seminary had been put forward in several quarters. In New York John Henry Hobart had been active, even before his consecration to the episcopate in 1811, in forming organizations and institutions for the advancement of the Church's work. In 1806 he had established the Theological Society for the purpose of encouraging the studies of the younger clergy. In the spring of 1813 he was already privately suggesting the need of the establishment and endowment of "a theological school at least, if not a college." At the diocesan Convention in October he expressed satisfaction that both clergy and laity were becoming aware of the importance of the matter, and stressed the desirability of so arranging the "plan and situation" of the proposed institution that it

should meet the wants and wishes not merely of the Church in this diocese, but of our Church at large, and thus contribute to advance and preserve those invaluable objects, the purity and the unity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these States.¹⁰

What Hobart evidently had in mind was an institution generally useful, but organized and presumably actually controlled in New York. Under date of May 9, 1814, he published a definite plan. He proposed on his own responsibility to open a grammar school. The profits derived from the fees of this school, which would charge \$300 a year for boarding and tuition, were to provide the basis of the support of a seminary. This would be under the patronage of the General Convention and the general control of a Board of Trustees consisting of the Bishops and co-opted clerical and lay members. Its President and Vice-President, however, would always be the Bishops of New York and New Jersey. The contemplated program merely refers to the official course, although there is an interesting inclusion of "habits of close thinking and accurate research" among the results to be aimed at. The school and seminary should be near

⁸Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-35.

⁹Anne Ayres, *The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg*, 5th ed., New York, 1894, xiv-524 pp., pp. 38-41.

¹⁰John McVickar, *The Professional Years of John Henry Hobart*, New York, 1836, xvi-500, pp. 170-176, 253-255; *Journals of the Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York Republished*, New York, 1844, 480 pp., 1813, pp. 257-258.

large city, but in a retired situation. Land was available, apparently the Bishop's own property, near Springfield, New Jersey, eighteen miles from New York (at the present Short Hills).¹¹

The diocese of South Carolina had renewed its vigor since the consecration of Bishop Dehon in 1812. Concerned both as Bishop and through the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina with the training of candidates for orders, Dehon had become convinced of the necessity of a seminary. His preference was for an institution established by the whole Church rather than for local or diocesan schools. The resources of the Church were inadequate for the establishment of one good school, but probably not for several, and the meeting of candidates from different dioceses would increase the bonds of union between them. As the first definite promoter of the plan of a General Seminary, Theodore Dehon has perhaps the best claim to be regarded as the founder of the institution. The Bishop's ideas persuaded his diocese, and the South Carolina Convention of 1814 instructed its delegates to General Convention to promote the establishment of a seminary "under the auspices of the Church in general."¹²

The General Convention met in Philadelphia, eight days after the date of Hobart's pamphlet. Two proposals were therefore brought to the attention of the Bishops and deputies,—Hobart's plan of a local school appealing for general support, Dehon's of an officially established institution. Christopher Gadsden, then at St. Philip's, Charleston, was one of the clerical deputies from South Carolina. As such he proposed a resolution calling for a joint committee to consider the establishment of a seminary. The resolution was defeated, apparently more because the house was not ready to commit itself to a new idea than from any definite opposition. On the last day of the session Dehon reopened the matter in the House of Bishops, and it was "argued with much interest, although with the utmost moderation" between him and Hobart. White had not made up his mind on the matter, and therefore took no part in the debate. Finally a resolution was passed requesting the Bishops, or standing committees of vacant dioceses, to report at the next Convention on the desirability of Dehon's plan.¹³

During the following three years the seminary question was

¹¹John Henry Hobart, *Grammar School and Theological Seminary*, pamphlet, p., 1814, 12 pp.

¹²C. E. Gadsden, *An Essay on the Life of the Right Reverend Theodore Dehon*, Charleston, 1833, viii-341 pp., pp. 209-210; *South Carolina Convention Journal*, 14, p. 13.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 211; William White, *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, ed. B. F. DeCosta, New York, 1880, lvi-474 pp., pp. 41, 261-262; *Journals of General Conventions*, Vol. 1, pp. 409, 421-422, 438.

widely discussed. In South Carolina the Convention resolved in 1815 "that the welfare of the Church imperiously demands the institution of a Theological Seminary under the auspices of the General Convention." In 1817 it reaffirmed its agreement with Dehon's views. In New York Hobart explained the opposition of the diocese's delegation in the General Convention to the establishment of a "general Theological Seminary" on the ground that private cooperation could produce better results than the assumption of initiative by the General Convention.¹⁴ Everywhere the need of instruction for the increasing number of candidates became more evident, and the societies formed in various dioceses for the support of students for the ministry became centres of interest in the seminary idea. Bishop White was somewhat disposed to favor local institutions, while his young assistant Muhlenberg was one of those who argued in favor of a general one.¹⁵ As the date for the meeting of the General Convention of 1817 approached the seminary question was discussed in several pamphlets and articles in New York. One of these argued for the general institution on practical grounds and also because local institutions would become centers of rival schools of thought. Hobart expressed himself rather hesitantly in the *Christian Journal* for May. He still doubted whether the general institution was either possible or desirable. But there ought in any case to be a seminary in New York.¹⁶

The Convention met in New York, May 20-27. On May 24 the Bishops reported as directed in 1814, most of them in favor of a general seminary. Dehon remained the great proponent of the plan, White was persuaded, and Hobart agreed to the sentiment of the Convention. On May 26 resolutions, drawn up by Dehon, were passed by the House of Bishops. The first declared that a "general Theological Seminary" should be established, the second that it should be located in New York. The third authorized the appointment of agents to raise funds, the fourth called for a committee of three Bishops (White, Hobart, and Croes of New Jersey), three clergymen, and three laymen to receive any money raised and, if a majority of the Bishops approved, to carry the plan into immediate operation. The next day the House of Deputies concurred in the

¹⁴*South Carolina Convention Journal, 1815, p. 15, 1817, pp. 17-18; New York Convention Journals, 1814, p. 274.*

¹⁵*Ayres, op. cit., p. 39.*

¹⁶*Brief Remarks on the Importance and Practicability of Instituting a General Theological Seminary, New York, 1817, 10 pp.; "A Few Hints on the Subject of a Theological Seminary for the Protestant Episcopal Church," reprint from the Christian Journal (authorship referred to Hobart, McVickar, op. cit., p. 440).*

resolutions and the agents and members of the committee were appointed.¹⁷

Steps were soon taken to carry out the directions of the Convention. In July Bishop White wrote a letter of appointment to the agents, laying stress on the importance of theological education and the maintenance of theological scholarship.¹⁸ In October Bishop Hobart, addressing his diocesan Convention, appealed for the support of the school, mentioning an additional argument in favor of the seminary,—the value of the assistance it would provide to students in need of scholarships.¹⁹ The committee met in January, made further arrangements for the raising of funds, and issued an appeal to the Church. This document, probably drawn up by Bishop White, sketched the course much along the lines laid down in 1804, and referred to the committee's intention of erecting a building containing lecture-rooms and a library, which would also serve as a chapel, and perhaps accomodation for the professors. In October the committee voted to establish professorships of Biblical Learning, of Systematic Theology, of Historic Theology (including Church history and polity), and of the Ritual of the Church and Pulpit Eloquence. The Rev. Samuel F. Jarvis was appointed to the first chair, the Rev. Charles Henry Wharton ("when the funds of the institution admit") to the second, and the Rev. Samuel H. Turner to the third. Temporarily Turner was to teach Systematic Theology and he and Jarvis were to divide Ritual and Pulpit Eloquence between them. Until their full-time services could be demanded Jarvis and Turner were to receive salaries of \$800 a year. A rearrangement was made at a third meeting of the committee in February, 1819. Jarvis, who was evidently regarded as the chief professor, was to undertake the two vacant chairs, and receive a salary of \$2,500, with \$500 in lieu of a house, while Turner was to receive \$1,000. At this meeting Bishop Hobart communicated Clement C. Moore's offer of sixty city lots as a site for the seminary buildings, which was accepted.²⁰ Bishop Dehon had died in the summer of 1817, but perhaps just because of that the diocese of South Carolina was the more anxious to maintain the seminary project. At the diocesan Convention of February, 1819, Gadsden spoke in favor of the Seminary. The diocese not only passed resolutions in Convention but also raised \$4,560 out of the

¹⁷*Journals of Genral Conventions*, Vol. 1, pp. 490, 493-4, 496, 480-1; White, *Memoirs*, pp. 43, 271-2; on Dehon's share Gadsden, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-213, and in *South Carolina Convention Journal*, 1819, p. 50.

¹⁸Letter printed in A. B. Hart, ed., *Proceedings relating to the Organization of the General Theological Seminary . . . together with the Regular Proceedings of the Board of Trustees from its Commencement, A. D. 1821, until 1838, New York, 1854, 668 pp.*, pp. 7-10.

¹⁹*New York Convention Journals, 1817*, pp. 377-378.

²⁰*Report in Journals of General Conventions*, Vol. 1, pp. 570-574.

\$6,246 raised for the Seminary in its first New York period, most of the remainder coming from New York.²¹

Several dates may be given for the actual foundation of the General Theological Seminary. On May 27, 1817, the General Convention voted to establish such an institution. On October 8, 1818, the committee in charge voted to proceed as soon as possible and appointed the first professors. Both of these dates have been regarded, and with some justification, as the birthday of the Seminary. In the spring of 1819,—the exact day does not seem to be recorded,—Jarvis and Turner arrived in New York and instruction was begun, without any formal opening, in a room off the gallery of St. Paul's Chapel. The first class consisted of six students,—Lawson Carter, James P. F. Clarke, George Washington Doane, Benjamin Dorr, Manton Eastburn, and William Hinckley Mitchell. In the fall instruction was resumed. With the approach of cold weather the class moved to St. John's Chapel, where the vestry or the adjoining part of the church could be heated. But after some time the professors were informed by the sexton that they could not continue at St. John's unless they provided their own fuel. As Turner records

Mr. Carter, one of the students, who at the time was principal of a young ladies' school, kept in the second story of a house on the north-west corner of Broadway and Cedar street, very kindly offered us the use of this room in the afternoon. We gratefully accepted the offer, and there all the exercises of the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America were held during the latter months of 1819 and the earlier ones of 1820.²²

Although Hobart had attended all the meetings of the seminary committee, which were held in Philadelphia, he did not take any great interest in the institution when it did open. Whether this was due to dislike of the theological views of Jarvis and Turner, or to more personal causes, is not clear. On the other hand, the professors seem to have expected too much from the Church immediately. After all, the Seminary was new in the Episcopal Church, and in outward appearance not greatly different at first from the private instruction which had previously existed. Jarvis soon became discouraged, and

²¹*South Carolina Convention, Journal, 1819, pp. 25-35, 40-51; financial report in Journals of General Conventions, Vol. 1, pp. 575-6. The agents active in collecting funds were Nathaniel Bowen, afterwards Bishop of South Carolina, in the north, and T. C. Brownell, afterwards Bishop of Connecticut, in the south.*

²²*Turner, Autobiography, pp. 83-88; though salaries were counted from April 1, 1819, Turner preferred to count his from May 1 (Journals of General Conventions, Vol. 1, p. 575); but he refers to a date in May as within two months after the opening (op. cit., p. 90).*

in May, 1819, indicated his intention to accept a call to a parish in Boston, although he continued at the Seminary during the following year.²³ At the General Convention in Philadelphia in May, 1820, it was voted to move the Seminary to New Haven. At the same time its constitution was put on a more regular basis by establishing a board of trustees, consisting of the Bishops together with twelve clergymen and twelve laymen, with general powers to direct the running of the institution. In passing the resolutions on the seminary the House of Bishops added a statement that they did not consider that the plan excluded the formation of diocesan "theological institutions or professorships," nor that those who had subscribed to the Seminary in New York were bound to pay their subscriptions to the institution in New Haven.²⁴ Presumably the reference is not only to Hobart's proposals for an institution in New York but to the scheme already under way for a theological professorship in Virginia, out of which the Virginia Seminary was to grow. Bishop White was still doubtful of the value of a central institution, feeling that it might necessitate frequent meetings of the General Convention and that differences among the professors might accentuate the divisions within the Church.²⁵

The Board of Trustees met at New Haven on July 13. The plan of organization then adopted may be regarded as the first set of statutes of the Seminary. The intended professorships were increased to five by the division of "Historic Theology" into Church History and The Ministry, Polity, and Ritual of the Church. The endowment of professorships, fellowships, and scholarships was contemplated, those who had received scholarships to be obliged to work under the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society for one to three years. There were to be two terms,—from the first Thursday in September to the second Thursday in December, and from the second Thursday in March to the last Thursday in July. Provision was made for the establishment of a library. By resolution (in response to a communication from Bishop Hobart) the trustees declared that they did not agree that the statement issued by the House of Bishops prevented their soliciting contributions from any part of the country. Other resolutions made arrangements for raising funds. The plan and resolutions were printed, together with an appeal for endowments.²⁶

On September 13th the Seminary was formally opened in Trinity Church, New Haven. The opening address, by Professor Turner, dealt with the value of a theological school, especially as encouraging

²³Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89.

²⁴*Journals of General Conventions*, Vol. 1, pp. 524-6, 546-551, 563.

²⁵White, *Memoirs*, pp. 50, 282-289.

²⁶Reprinted in *Proceedings*, pp. 35-47.

the accurate study of the Scriptures. Ten students were present when the school opened, and eleven more arrived in the course of the year. The long winter vacation had been provided, as was not uncommon in institutions of higher learning at this period, for students who might be engaged in teaching school. As several of the students had been reading for orders for some time, the course was at the beginning rather flexible. Turner was professor of almost everything, giving instruction mainly in Old and New Testament and in Dogmatic Theology. Bishop Brownell, who moved to New Haven during the year, taught homiletics and pastoral theology. For a considerable part of the time Turner met with the students on Saturday evenings, one week giving a devotional address or sermon and the next having a critical essay read by one of the students and discussed by those present. The collection of a library was begun, John Pintard of New York being one of its first benefactors. At the close of the session in July, 1821, the first public examination of the students was held, in the presence of the trustees and clergy. At the trustees' meeting on July 24th it was decided to raise subscriptions for the support of a second professor. On the strength of pledges obtained the Rev. Bird Wilson was elected to the chair of Systematic Theology. The enrollment in the fall session was 21, two students having been ordained, several having left, and seven new men having entered.²⁷

Scarcely had the Seminary left New York when Bishop Hobart resumed his plan of a diocesan school. He issued a Pastoral Letter which argued for the desirability of making provision for theological education in the diocese of New York and pointed out that the House of Bishops had clearly indicated that they expected that diocesan institutions would be established. A definite scheme was proposed. A Theological Education Society should be formed, composed of the clergy and lay representatives, and two schools established, one at New York, the other in the northern or western part of the state. Hobart's great interest in the extension of the Church into western New York led him to desire a school which would both educate candidates from and provide clergy for the western section of the diocese. This scheme was adopted by the New York Convention in October. The Theological Education Society was to consist of the members of the diocesan convention, together with those who contributed \$2 annually or \$25 at one time, and to transact business

²⁷*Trustees' report in Journals of General Conventions, Vol. 1, pp. 626-641; Turner, Autobiography, pp. 100-106; S. H. Turner, Introductory Discourse Delivered at New Haven at the Opening of the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, September 13, 1820, Hartford, 1820, 31 pp.*

through a large Board of Trustees and a smaller Board of Managers.²⁸ The seminary in New York opened in May, 1821, with a class of four students. Hobart undertook the departments of Systematic Divinity and Pastoral Theology and the Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk those of History and Polity. The faculty was completed by two learned laymen,—Clement C. Moore as professor of Biblical Learning, and Gulian C. Verplanck as professor of Evidences and Moral Science. The Rev. Henry J. Feltus was librarian. In Geneva two professors began instructing several students in June. Both schools reopened in the fall. In October there were eight students in New York and ten at Geneva, where the Geneva Academy planned to erect a building for the accomodation of both “theological and classical students.”²⁹

Meanwhile an event had occurred which was to lead to a final settlement of the question of the location of the seminary. Jacob Sherred, of New York, died in March, 1821. His will, dated January 28, 1820, left his residuary estate to be held in trust until a theological seminary should be established in New York under the authority of the General Convention or of the New York Convention. This legacy, estimated at \$60,000, was then to go to that institution. At the date of the will the General Seminary had been functioning in New York, while at the time of Mr. Sherred's death it had moved to New Haven and the New York Seminary was shortly to open. On the part of the trustees of the General Seminary some doubt was raised as to whether the terms and intention of the will did not give the preference to their institution. After holding a meeting on May 24-25 they requested the Bishops to call a special meeting of the General Convention to consider what action, if any, should be taken “in relation to the bequest of the late Jacob Sherred, Esq.” In October came the regular session of the New York Convention, Bishop Hobart's address and the report of the Education Society argued, with the support of lawyers' opinions, that there was no serious doubt that as matters then stood the legacy belonged to the New York Seminary. Nevertheless Hobart suggested that the best procedure would be to unite the two schools, provided that due consideration were given in the management of the seminary to the natural interest of the diocese of New York in a school located in its territory, replacing its own diocesan schools, and largely established by New York contributions.³⁰ The Convention expressed its agreement to any union of the schools which might be effected on these principles.

²⁸John Henry Hobart, *A Pastoral Letter Relative to Measures for the Theological Education of Candidates for Orders*, New York, 1820, 24 pp; *New York Convention, Journal*, 1820, pp. 12-14.

²⁹*New York Convention, Journal*, 1821, pp. 29-35.

³⁰*Documents conveniently assembled from General and New York Convention Journals in Proceedings*, pp. 57-59, 64-85.

At the end of the month the General Convention met. The Hon. Duncan Cameron of North Carolina, Bishop White tells us, was largely responsible for the plan which was adopted in the Constitution of the General Theological Seminary, passed by the two houses on November 1-2. The Seminary was to be permanently established in the state of New York, with the right to establish branches in other parts of the State or elsewhere. The trustees were to be the Bishops, together with trustees nominated by the dioceses, but elected by the General Convention, as follows: one for each diocese, and one additional trustee for every eight clergymen and for every two thousand dollars contributed up to ten, thereafter one for every ten thousand. Until the next General Convention there was to be a temporary board, composed of the Bishops, the twenty-four elected trustees of the existing board, and fourteen members elected by the Board of Managers of the New York Education Society. The board was to meet in New York, and was given general powers to conduct its own affairs and direct the business of the seminary. The term General Theological Seminary seems first to have been used as the official name of the institution in this document. In his address at the close of the Convention Bishop White pointed out how on this occasion, as several times before in the history of the American Church, differences which threatened to be serious had been settled on the basis of a genuine agreement. In this he saw a proof of the divine protection of the Church. The 133rd psalm was then sung.³¹

The temporary Board of Trustees met in New York on December 18-19, 1821. The New York Education Society formally transferred its property and claims, including any rights under the Sherred legacy. Arrangements were made for combining the faculties of the General and New York Seminaries. Hobart yielded Systematic Divinity to Wilson and Moore gave up Biblical Learning and the Interpretation of Scripture to Turner, retaining only the department of Hebrew. The Branch School at Geneva was to be continued.³² On March 11, 1822, the formal opening of the Seminary was held in Trinity Church, with an address by Bishop Hobart. His main points were the characteristics of the ministry which the Seminary would aim to produce,—learned, orthodox, pious, and practical.³³ On July 23-24 the trustees met again. They received and accepted the act of incorporation passed by the State legislature in April. Statutes for the Seminary were adopted, based on the plan of organization drawn

³¹*Journals of General Conventions*, Vol. 1, pp. 609-624; *White, Memoirs*, pp. 52, 290-291.

³²*Proceedings*, pp. 157-165.

³³*John Henry Hobart, An Introductory Address on the Occasion of the Opening of the General Theological Seminary, New York, 1822*, 40 pp.

up at New Haven. A new feature was the matriculation pledge, to be signed by students on admission to the Seminary. The academic year was to run from the first Monday in November to the last Saturday in July, with vacations at Christmas and Easter. Presumably on the basis of Professor Turner's Saturday evening meetings at New Haven, provision was made for the organization of the students into a theological society, to meet weekly for "literary and theological improvement" and religious exercises. With the proceedings of this meeting we may consider that the foundation and organization of the General Theological Seminary was completed.³⁴

In the consideration of the early years of the General Seminary it is almost impossible to avoid passing some judgment on Bishop Hobart's part in it. Was he merely insistent that if seminaries were to be founded there should be at least one, whether general or diocesan, under the eye and subject to the influence of the Bishop of New York? Such seems to be the opinion even of his admiring biographer McVickar. But one must remember that until the General Seminary was actually in existence there was considerable doubt whether a general institution of the sort was a practicable project. Hobart was quite right in pointing out that, with movements towards diocesan seminaries started in several dioceses, the establishment of a general school at New York in which the diocese of New York was not given some special position might mean that the largest diocese would be the only one with no part in the movement for theological education.³⁵ The arrangements made in 1821 reflected the real situation in a way which would have been impossible until both the General and the New York Seminaries were in existence. The establishment of the General Seminary in New York was, in fact, a union of the movement for a general seminary, in which South Carolina took the leading part, and the movement for theological education in New York. Without the definite local support on the one hand, or the claim to nation-wide interest on the other, the General Seminary could never have developed and grown. There is no indication that after the school returned to New York Hobart attempted to exercise any undue influence either on the theology taught in it or on the practical administration of its affairs. Certainly he accepted the presence in it of two resident professors, Turner and Wilson, with whose views he did not wholly agree.³⁶

After 1823 the external history of the Seminary is fairly simple. In that year the first commencement was held, in Christ Church. It was decided to discontinue the teaching of theology at Geneva, and

³⁴*Proceedings*, pp. 165-180.

³⁵McVickar, *op. cit.*, p. 441; Hobart, *Pastoral Letter*.

³⁶Turner, *Autobiography*, pp. 95-98, 113-114.

the following year arrangements were completed for separating the Seminary from the institution which was to develop into Hobart College. In 1824 the trustees voted to erect a building on the "ground at Greenwich" which Moore had offered to the Seminary in 1819. On July 28, 1825, a procession of trustees, faculty, students, clergy, and "an assemblage of citizens" moved from Moore's house to the site, where Bishop White laid the cornerstone. In his address on the occasion he said that he would "withdraw his hand" if there were any danger that the teaching in the Seminary would suffer

a departure from those properties of our system, in doctrine, in discipline, and in worship, which in the sixteenth century were cleared from superstition by the leaders in the English Reformation, were brought to the colonies by the early emigrants of the Church of England, were recognized by us in the organization of our American Church, and, under the influence of the grace of God, have been persevered in by us to the present day.³⁷

In the spring of 1827 the Seminary moved into its own building. Until then the classes had met in rooms belonging to Trinity School, the professors had arranged for their own lodging, and a house had been rented for the accomodation of the out-of-town students. Professors Turner and Wilson began holding Sunday services for the convenience of the professors' families and other residents in the neighborhood. A Sunday School was soon added, taught by students and others, for the management of which a Sunday School Society, parallel to the customary parochial Sunday School societies of the period, was organized in October.³⁸ As the population of the district increased the congregation thus gathered was organized into St. Peter's parish in May, 1831, with Moore as one of its wardens. Benjamin I. Haight, then just out of the Seminary, was called as rector. A chapel (the present rectory) was built, and consecrated on February 4, 1832, a choir of students assisting at this service. Haight accepted a call elsewhere in 1834, and was followed by Thomas Pyne, an Englishman, who was obliged to resign on account of the disturbance raised by an abolitionist sermon. Hugh Smith then became rector, and on St. Peter's Day, 1836, the cornerstone of the church was laid by Bishop Onderdonk.³⁹

³⁷*Proceedings*, pp. 196-7, 211-213, 227-230. It may be noted that Bishop White's remarks, which have several times been incorrectly quoted, do not refer to "principles of the Reformation," but to the older principles of the Church as purified at that time and continued in the Anglican tradition.

³⁸Turner, *Autobiography*, pp. 117, 121-2, 128-9; *Proceedings*, p. 222; W. F. Brand, *Life of William Rollinson Whittingham*, 2nd ed., New York, 1886, 2 vols., Vol. I, p. 42.

³⁹S. W. Patterson, *Old Chelsea and St. Peter's Church, New York, 1935*, xiii-147 pp., pp. 30-36, 45-53.

After 1830 the number of students greatly increased, probably owing partly to the growth of the Church, partly to the more general acceptance of the seminary idea in place of private study. With classes of 25-30 instead of 5-10 the dormitory accommodations were insufficient, and it became necessary to hire rooms in the neighborhood for the students who could not be accommodated in the Seminary building. In 1834 it was voted to erect a new building, which was largely completed and occupied in 1836.⁴⁰ In the previous year the Seminary had received the first of the endowed professorships which had been contemplated since 1820,—the St. Mark's Church in the Bowery Professorship of Ecclesiastical History, given by Peter G. Stuyvesant, a member of that parish and a relative of its founder. At his request the statutes were altered to give donors of professorships the right of nomination. After Francis L. Hawks had declined the nomination William R. Whittingham was nominated and duly elected by the trustees.⁴¹

The events of 1836 conveniently mark the end of the first period in the Seminary's history. Whittingham's appointment in January left the permanent staff as it was to be until 1840, by which time the impact of the Oxford movement would begin to be felt in Chelsea Square. With the opening of West Building the external appearance of the Seminary reached the state in which it was to remain until Dean Hoffman's building program got under way in the 1880's. With this date, therefore, an account of the early years of the General Theological Seminary may well come to an end.

If we wish to picture the Seminary as it was in its early days, it is important to remember that Chelsea was even in 1836 not only uptown, but suburban. The city to which the Seminary had returned in 1822 was the smaller and handsomer town to which we apply, in hopeless reminiscence, the phrase "little old New York." Credited by the census of 1820 with a population just over 120,000, it was the first city of the country, and eagerly looked forward to growth and importance. But the great accession of size which was to follow on the opening of the Erie Canal and the increase of foreign trade and immigration was still to come. The Episcopal churches of New York were clustered in the south end of the island,—Trinity, in its second building, with St. Paul's and, in the new uptown residential district, St. John's,—St. George's, Christ, St. Stephen's, Zion, Grace. All except Trinity and St. Paul's have disappeared or moved far north of where they then were. Trinity school stood in Canal Street, and

⁴⁰Turner, *Autobiography*, pp. 172-3; *Proceedings*, pp. 460-1; *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the General Theological Seminary, 1836-7*, New York, 1837, 20 pp., p. 13.

⁴¹*Proceedings*, pp. 515-519, 530-535.

Columbia College on its original site near Trinity Church. St. Mark's in the east and St. Luke's in the west were on the edge of the built-up area. Further north St. Michael's was a country church and St. James' a summer chapel for country places on the East River.⁴² A circular in 1831 described the Seminary as "at Greenwich in the immediate vicinity of New York," and

sufficiently near to the city for all purposes of necessary intercourse, and yet retired from its noise and excitement.

Yet the neighborhood was by then filling up, and the Seminary Sunday School, which was shortly to become St. Peter's, had 357 scholars.⁴³ In 1827 the ground around was 15-18 feet above the level of the Seminary building, leaving it in a hollow. From the road to Greenwich (9th Avenue) one drove down through an apple orchard, about where the front door at 175 Ninth Avenue is now. On the north Love Lane (21st. St.) led to the Bloomingdale Road (Broadway). The high-water mark was east of the future 10th Avenue, and the grounds were occasionally flooded. There was a pleasant view of the river and the Jersey shore.⁴⁴ As the streets were opened one after another it was possible to buy the earth removed in grading them to the determined ground-level and use it in filling in the lots to the west. In assisting the Seminary in making additions to its land and otherwise improving the property Clement C. Moore firmly stated each time that he was doing this because it would improve the value of his own property which he was developing on either side.⁴⁵ By 1836 the city had caught up with the Seminary and surrounded it. But for some time after not only matriculation services and commencements, for which there was presumably not room in the Seminary buildings, but trustees' meetings were held in one or another of the city churches.

East Building, as it came to be called after the other was erected to the west of it, was a plain structure of fairly good proportions, with some attempt at "Gothic" ornament. On seeing it for the first time Bishop Hobart expressed his disappointment in "brief but most marked language." It would be interesting to know exactly what he said. Joseph Tucker, mason, and Richard Wight, carpenter, are the only names preserved in connection with the construction of West Building. Their solid and dignified work was not greatly admired by an age which was coming to care increasingly for more elaborate

⁴²See accounts in *Centennial History of the Diocese of New York*, New York, 1885.

⁴³Published in the *Churchman*, Vol. 1, August 6, 1831, p. 80.

⁴⁴Turner, *Autobiography*, pp. 122-124; W. White Bronson, *A Memorial of the Rev. Bird Wilson*, Philadelphia, 1864, 212 pp., pp. 76-77.

⁴⁵*Proceedings*, pp. 410-411, 462, 516-7.

decoration. Yet its preservation may well be counted a piece of good fortune on artistic as well as historical grounds. The East Building had a professor's house at each end, Wilson living at the east and Turner, after 1836 Whittingham, at the west. In between the refectory, kitchen, and janitor's rooms were in the basement. On the floor above the library, to the east of the entrance, served also for some years as lecture-room and chapel. The rest of that floor and the two above contained student's rooms. West Building had a house at its east end, which Professor Turner designed as an improvement on his previous house, and into which he moved in 1836.⁴⁶ The west end contained in the lower stories a chapel and lecture rooms. The remainder of the building, which was not all opened at first, was made up of additional rooms for students. The rooms which still remain in the present arrangement of West Building are fairly large for single or even double rooms. But since each of the rooms was divided into a common study and two cubicles lighted only from it they must in fact have been somewhat cramped. In the construction of West Building improvements in ventilation and heating were introduced (grates instead of stoves) which made both for economy and for convenience.⁴⁷

After 1821 the General Convention did not intervene in detail in the affairs of the Seminary. The Board of Trustees, however, was active throughout the early period. The basis of selection of trustees gave New York a large number, but not a majority; but since the Board met in New York there was normally a majority of New York members present at meetings. The Board met for a session of several days, interspersed with attendance at examinations and commencement, at the end of the Seminary year, and occasionally for special meetings. In years when the General Convention met there was an additional meeting just before the Convention to enable trustees from other parts of the country to take more part in Seminary business. This meeting was abolished in 1830, but restored in 1832 at the request of the South Carolina trustees. On several occasions the trustees from that diocese, when unable to be present, gathered in Charleston and communicated proposals to the Board by letter. Bishop Bowen, one of the original agents for the Seminary fund, and Christopher Gadsden, later to be Bowen's successor, seem to have been leaders in the South Carolina group. Several individual trustees outside of New York took considerable interest in the Seminary's affairs,—among

⁴⁶*This is, of course, the present No. 5, known to most living graduates of the Seminary as the residence of some of its most distinguished professors in recent years.*

⁴⁷*Turner, Autobiography, pp. 121-2, 172-3; plan of East Building in Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the General Theological Seminary, 1835-6 New York, 1836, 20 pp., p. 14; Proceedings, pp. 551, 556-7, 585.*

them may be mentioned Bishop White, Jackson Kemper, a trustee from Connecticut and after 1835 Missionary Bishop in the Northwest, and George Washington Doane, one of the Seminary's first students and after 1832 Bishop of New Jersey. Among active lay trustees may be mentioned John Pintard, the benefactor of the library, and Jacob Lorillard. The Board functioned through various committees which reported on subjects ranging from the finances of the Seminary to the neatness of the student's rooms.⁴⁸

The former of these matters, at least, was never in a wholly satisfactory condition. The total contributions to the Seminary up to 1835 were \$171,000, of which \$135,000 (including the Sherred legacy) came from New York and \$12,000 from South Carolina.⁴⁹ But this included scholarship endowments and the building fund raised for East Building, and other money spent for current purposes. Each of the buildings cost somewhat over \$30,000, and, the erection of West Building had involved a considerable debt in addition to the Lorillard legacy of \$20,000. The main items in the Seminary budget were salaries of \$1,500 for Professors Turner and Wilson, which were probably adequate, if not munificent, considering the standards of the time even in New York. Moore received \$750, the librarian \$100, and the janitor \$150. But with incidental expenses of one kind or another there was an annual deficit which greatly reduced the permanent endowment. The Seminary was thus not enabled to make the increases in its staff which were constantly desired. In 1836 the St. Mark's in the Bowery Professorship and a library fund of \$10,000 made some provision for expansion, but the meeting of the basic needs of the Seminary remained a problem for the future. The Seminary was already suffering, as it was to suffer at various times in the future, from the false impression that it was adequately endowed.

The curriculum of the Seminary gradually developed out of the Course of Studies of 1804 into a more definite division into departments. In 1822 Onderdonk resigned the department of Church History while retaining that of Polity, and those subjects were thus separated. The course as arranged in 1823 and 1826 assigned one day a week for all classes to Pastoral Theology and Pulpit Eloquence, and otherwise was as follows: first year Hebrew, Biblical Learning, and Evidences,—second year, first session the same, second session one half Systematic Divinity, History, Polity, remainder Hebrew and Biblical Learning,—third year Systematic Divinity and History principally, with as much Hebrew and Biblical Learning as the faculty

⁴⁸*On the South Carolina trustees, Proceedings, pp. 207-210, 390-391, 532; for general statements made in this section authority will be found in the Proceedings.*

⁴⁹*Nearly all the rest came from North Carolina, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Massachusetts (Proceedings, p. 525).*

might decide. Some of those in a position to influence the Seminary wanted to make the curriculum more practical, while others wanted to encourage more advanced scholarship. Both of these purposes, although primarily the former, were aimed at in a series of changes proposed by Bishops Hobart, Croes, and H. U. Onderdonk in 1830 and finally incorporated into the Statutes in 1832. The study of Hebrew was confined to the first year, in order to give more time for Pastoral Theology and the interpretation of the Bible during the remainder of the course. The increase in the number of students meant that each one took part less often in the public exercises in sermon composition. Consequently the statutory sermons were instituted,—to be submitted in writing to the Professor of Pastoral Theology. Four were due from Juniors, five from Middlers, and six from Seniors. It will not surprise those acquainted with the Seminary in more recent years to know that difficulty was soon experienced in enforcing this requirement.⁵⁰ In spite of these various changes the curriculum in 1836 was still based on the 1804 Course of Studies. Bishop White's order of Theological reading may be considered to have justified itself as a logical approach to the scholarship of the age. Pastoral Theology had perhaps too much the character of a semi-independent appendage to the course; but the position of more directly practical exercises in the theological curriculum has always remained something of a problem.

The immediate administration of the Seminary was in the hands of the Faculty, consisting of all the Professors, resident and non-resident. If a Bishop were present, he presided; otherwise a chairman was elected. Since first Hobart and then Onderdonk were Professors as well as Bishops of New York, they usually acted as Presidents of the Faculty, at least for the purpose of signing its annual reports. In 1832 the office of Dean was established, in view of the desirability of having a resident head of the institution. As first created, this was probably one of the most irrelevant academic offices which has ever existed. It was to be held by the resident professors in annual rotation. In the absence of a Bishop the Dean was to preside over the Faculty. But he was given no other powers except to report on the condition of the buildings, nor was anyone subject to his direction except the janitor. After 1837 the office was to become more important. But for the time, especially since Bishop Onderdonk continued to act as President of the Faculty, it did not play any great part in the life of the Seminary.⁵¹

Both from the importance of the subject and from the character

⁵⁰*Proceedings*, pp. 331-2, 363, 655-6.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, pp. 366-7, 413, 626-8.

of the Professor, the most important department was that of Biblical Learning. Samuel Hulbeart Turner, born in Philadelphia in 1790, read for orders under Bishop White, as has been mentioned before. From 1812-1817 he was rector of the parish at Chestertown, Maryland. Shortly before his ordination he had begun the study of Hebrew, and at Chestertown he carried on biblical studies privately. Late in 1818 he was appointed to direct the theological studies of candidates under Bishop White's direction, one of his two pupils being Alonzo Potter, the future Bishop of Pennsylvania. He had already been elected to a professorship in the General Seminary his early connection with which has previously been described.⁵² After the return of the Seminary to New York he gave his main attention to the biblical department. As reported in 1831 his courses included the following: for the Juniors Old Testament History from Genesis to II Kings, and the reading of the most important parts of the Gospels, Acts, and Romans,—for the Middlers, the study of the epistles in Greek,—for the Seniors, with whom time was more limited, the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament. There is evidence that the serious interest which he himself took in his subject communicated itself to his classes. A student of the 1840's has recorded some minor impressions of his teaching:

his earnest devotion showed itself in his eyes, brows, mouth, nose, and in his very hair, as he gazed upon the Greek Testament before him, or bent his looks upon us to gather in from the expression of our faces the effect of his criticisms. We could see his legs under the desk. There his little hands took a busy part in the exegesis, pinching his trousers at the knees. One foot or the other was always tapping the floor of the platform.⁵³

Professor Turner, although in advanced studies so largely self-taught, was undoubtedly a scholar in the full sense of the word. His insistence on the use of every means available for the interpretation of the Scriptures was combined with insistence that discovery of the actual truth must be the sole aim pursued in the study of them. So firm was his faith in scholarship that it was an obvious conclusion that the Bible deserved the full benefit of the best of its methods, so firm his Christian belief that it never occurred to him that the results could be anything but beneficial to the Christian religion. He published in 1824 a small volume of *Notes on the Epistle to the Romans*. Some years later he translated, with the collaboration of W. R.

⁵²Turner, *Autobiography*, Chaps. 1-6.

⁵³*Proceedings*, pp. 348-9; Clarence A. Walworth, *The Oxford Movement in America; or, Glimpses of Life in an Anglican Seminary, New York*, (cop. 1895), iv-175 pp., pp. 5, 23-27.

Whittingham, Jahn's *Introduction to the Old Testament*, which he used as a text-book. In 1828 Turner and Whittingham joined with two other clergy of the city (Eastburn, then assistant at Christ Church, and Schroeder, one of those connected with Trinity) in a kind of informal seminar for the reading and discussion of papers on biblical literature. The group published a volume of translations in 1829. A further outgrowth of it was the publication of Turner's translation of Planck's *Introduction to Theological Knowledge* in 1834. Probably Turner's most considerable work was his *Companion to the Book of Genesis*, based on his lecture notes, which was published in 1841. The introduction maintains the Mosaic authorship and unity of the book, although admitting that previous documents may have been used in its composition. But while Turner came to conservative conclusions he wrote as a Biblical critic and on the basis of critical arguments. He inclined to believe that the serpent in Genesis 3 was to be interpreted allegorically, and was duly attacked for this piece of radicalism.⁵⁴ Had he lived at a later date Turner might well have come to different conclusions,—and his genuine scholarship might well have raised up more disciples.

In religion Turner was a devoted adherent of the central Anglican school to which Bishop White belonged, equally opposed to distinctively high church principles and to Calvinism. In 1829 he was connected with the proposed Clerical Association, which Bishop Hobart regarded as the organization of an opposing group in the diocese, and acted as the spokesman of the group in drawing up its defence. Apart from this his personal relations with Hobart were friendly. Turner's willingness to assist his brethren in the "duties of the desk and pulpit" kept him in touch with the practical affairs of the Church. In spite of a certain amount of crustiness in his character, his sincere piety seems to have been an important religious influence in the Seminary.

Most Americans are familiar with the story of the author of *The Night Before Christmas* who was a professor of Hebrew and expected his fame to be secured by his Hebrew dictionary. Most of those who have had contacts with the General Seminary or St. Peter's are aware that he was the Professor, Clement Clarke Moore, who has already been spoken of. The dictionary in the story was his *Compendious Lexicon of the Hebrew Language*, published in two volumes in 1809. One volume interpreted every word in the Psalms, the other covered the rest of the Old Testament in less detail. Moore's mother was the daughter of Captain Clarke, and it was through her that he inherited

⁵⁴Turner, *Autobiography*, pp. 117-8, 126-7, 166-172, 178-183, and books referred to.

Clarke's estate, called Chelsea, on which he had been born in 1779. His father was Benjamin Moore, Hobart's predecessor as rector of Trinity and Bishop of New York. He himself had studied for Holy Orders, but decided to remain a layman. His title was Professor of Oriental and Greek Literature, but after 1822 he confined himself to the teaching of Hebrew. In teaching the language he carefully avoided trenching on Turner's field of exegesis, and refused even to make those emendations of the text which seem clear on purely linguistic grounds. For many years he was secretary of the Faculty. As a layman he was a benefactor of the Seminary and one of the principal founders of St. Peter's. His gift gave the Seminary its location, while as his estate was built up with the growth of the city it left its name to the neighborhood.⁵⁵

The other resident professor of the early days was Bird Wilson. Born in 1777, he was the son of a prominent lawyer, a member of the Continental Congress and of the Constitutional Convention, and after 1789 of the Supreme Court. Bird Wilson himself studied for the bar, and at the age of 25 became President of the Court of Common Pleas at Norristown, Pennsylvania. He was one of the organizers of the local parish and served it as warden and delegate to the diocesan Convention. Deeply affected by an occasion when he was called upon to pronounce the death sentence, he resigned from the bench when another capital case came before his court in 1817, and studied for orders under Bishop White. His connection with White was more than official. Wilson's father had been a close friend of Bishop White's and his son was perhaps one of his nearest disciples. Ordained to the priesthood in 1820, he had served about a year as rector of the church at Norristown when he was elected to his professorship, the duties of which he took up when the Seminary moved to New York. In 1826 he failed by a single vote of being elected Bishop of Pennsylvania. Thereafter he was not actively connected with that diocese, although he always retained his canonical residence there. He served for some years as Secretary of the House of Bishops, and after Bishop White's death prepared the semi-official Memoir.⁵⁶

It will be seen that Wilson's abilities were respected in more than one field. His studies in theology followed the lines laid down by Bishop White, and led him to an extensive acquaintance with the Fathers and the Caroline divines. Bishop Pearson's famous work on the Creed was the center of his teaching, although, again following White's example, he aimed to present both sides of controversial questions. His own views might be described as centrally Anglican,

⁵⁵Patterson, *Old Chelsea and St. Peter's*, pp. 4-12; Walworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-23.

⁵⁶Bronson, *Memorial*, pp. 17-34, 41-62, 80-91.

with great stress on the doctrine of the Incarnation. Although no one in those days thought of theology as a progressive science, Wilson constantly re-studied his subject and kept up with current literature in it. The track worn in the carpet of his study as he went over his lectures was as familiar to students as was his daily walk after class,—either north into the country or, in wet weather, in front of the Seminary buildings. His legal training made his lectures clear, if it perhaps made his sermons rather dry. Those who studied under him spoke with respect of the firm grasp of the main principles of theology which they gained from his teaching of it. His character was marked by deep but restrained emotions, which perhaps prevented him from being as much of a personal inspiration as might otherwise have been the case.⁵⁷

After Onderdonk's retirement from the Church History department in 1822, that subject was for many years divided between Professors Turner and Wilson. In the spring term of 1834 Francis L. Hawks, then rector of St. Thomas,' gave instruction in the subject to each of the classes. William R. Whittingham took over the department soon after his election to the newly-endowed chair in January, 1836. Hawks, then regarded as both a brilliant preacher and a distinguished scholar, is today remembered mostly for his work in beginning the scientific study of the American Church with his transcripts of S. P. G. records in London. His report suggests that he had some idea of tracing the history of Christian institutions and working towards a philosophy of history. Otherwise the instruction in Church History seems to have been concentrated on the controversial periods of the early Church and the Reformation and to have had mainly controversial purposes in mind.⁵⁸ In the related department of Polity Benjamin T. Onderdonk was the only official representative of "Hobart churchmanship" in the Seminary. He continued to teach after his consecration to the episcopate as Hobart's successor in 1830, although his classes met less regularly. It may be assumed that he presented the views of the necessity and value of "Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order" for which Hobart stood.⁵⁹

The first Professor of Evidences in the Seminary was a somewhat eccentrically learned lawyer, Gulian C. Verplanck, at that time a member of the New York legislature, and afterwards a Congressman. In 1824 he "published his lectures and resigned." The book thus described by Turner is of some interest and originality. While mainly based on the then standard 18th century apologists, it argues

⁵⁷Bronson, *Memorial*, pp. 62-75, 91-103, 131-2; Walworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 28-30.

⁵⁸*Proceedings*, pp. 457-8.

⁵⁹*Cf. Walworth, op. cit.*, p. 5.

for a more liberal admission of what we would call subjective or pragmatic arguments,—that the truth of Christianity is supported, although not proved, by the values which it maintains.⁶⁰ Like Church History, Evidences was then left to the resident professors. Instruction was mainly based on such approved authors as Butler and Paley. In 1835 Samuel Seabury took over the teaching of the subject. He was Bishop Seabury's grandson, one of the early students at the Seminary, and long after to be Turner's successor, but at this time mainly engaged as editor of the *Churchman*. He was more interested in the justification and definition of the Church's authority than in the topics then usually considered under Evidences, and arranged his course accordingly.⁶¹

The chair of Pastoral Theology and Pulpit Eloquence was first occupied by Bishop Hobart. During his absence in Europe, and again for some years after his death, its duties were performed by Turner and Wilson. For a time it was in the hands of clergy of the city,—in 1834-5 Henry Anthon, from 1836 Hugh Smith, the rector of St. Peter's. The methods in any case were the same. On the day appointed, usually Monday, the student body, or part of it, met, either at the Seminary or in a church, Morning and Evening Prayer were read and sermons preached by students, and both the reading and the preaching criticized. Books on sermon construction and on the pastoral office were either studied as textbooks or recommended to be read. There was a strong, but as yet unsuccessful, effort to secure the appointment of a full-time professor in this department.⁶²

William Rollinson Whittingham was probably not only the most brilliant student of the Seminary's early days, but its most loyal alumnus and most inspiring teacher. His activities have to do with most parts of the Seminary's life, and therefore could not be described in the treatment of any one department. Born of English parents in 1805, he was privately educated, mostly by his scholarly mother, and entered the Seminary in 1822. His graduation paper in 1825 was on the advantages of the study of ecclesiastical history. As a student he was distinguished for "careful preparation, thorough research, and conscientious discharge of every duty." On graduation he was elected a fellow. As no fellowships had yet been endowed, the only privilege conveyed was the right to live at the Seminary as soon as there was a building to live in. At the same time he was

⁶⁰Turner, *Autobiography*, p. 116; Gulian Verplanck, *Essays on the Nature and Uses of the Various Evidences of Revealed Religion*, New York, 1824, xii-267 pp.; *Proceedings of the Century Association in Honor of the Memory of Gulian C. Verplanck*, New York, 1870, 100 pp.

⁶¹Samuel Seabury, s. v., in *Dictionary of American Biography*; *Proceedings*, pp. 559-560.

⁶²*Proceedings*, pp. 458-9, 498-500, 557-9, 592-3.

appointed librarian, and threw himself with real enthusiasm into the arrangement of the books thus entrusted to him. His scholarly collaboration with Professor Turner has already been mentioned. In 1826 he became secretary of the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union, which was formed, largely under Bishop Hobart's leadership, at the General Convention of that year. After his ordination in 1827 he became chaplain of Trinity School. In his early career Whittingham probably suffered from the generosity with which he accepted all possible calls, even to the point of injuring his health. He was obliged to resign the two successive rectorships he held after leaving the Seminary in 1829. Returning from rest, not without study, in Europe, he welcomed the chance to come back to the Seminary as professor and also to his old post of librarian.⁶³

Whittingham was regarded, and correctly, as a disciple and to some extent a protege of Bishop Hobart. He shared with Hobart the combination of High Church principles with a genuine enthusiasm for religion and love for men. Considerably junior to the other professors, he must also have seemed to bring something of the spirit of youth to the Seminary staff. At any rate, from 1836 until he left to become Bishop of Maryland in 1840 he assumed a position of spiritual leadership which might well have enabled him to have saved the Seminary the troubles of the following years. His professorship was probably the happiest period of Whittingham's life, and perhaps the most fruitful.⁶⁴

The Seminary library began with collections formed for the General Seminary at New Haven and for the New York Seminary. The fusion of these produced a library of about 2,500 volumes, which by 1836 had been doubled. The Fathers and standard earlier and contemporary Anglican divines were well represented, as well as texts and versions of the Bible and dictionaries of the Biblical and ecclesiastical languages. The interest of Turner and Whittingham was largely responsible for a rather unsystematic addition of German theological works. The establishment of a library fund in 1835 made possible a more systematic development, donations having previously been the chief source of accessions. The first librarian (Henry J. Feltus, rector of St. Stephen's) and his successors devoted their efforts to keeping the books arranged and safe. It must be remembered that the purpose of a Seminary library at this period was the collection of works desirable for the advanced studies of professors and others. The wearing-out of books through constant

⁶³Turner, *Autobiography*, p. 126; Brand, *Whittingham*, chaps. 1-7.

⁶⁴Brand, *Whittingham*, pp. 171-196.

use by students was deprecated. The assemblage of textbook libraries in connection with scholarships was, however, encouraged.⁶⁵

The Seminary made no pretence to provide an education for any and every person who might be a candidate for Holy Orders. It was established to offer a serious theological course to those equipped for graduate study. In the case of those who were not college graduates, the Seminary required them to show at least the equivalent of the college course of the day, especially a knowledge of Greek.⁶⁶ Some time after the opening came the formal matriculation and signing of the pledge to obey the rules of the Seminary as to studies and otherwise, "cultivate religious and moral dispositions and habits," and "endeavor to promote the reputation and interests of the Seminary." This was made a public occasion, with an address by a member of the faculty. These addresses, mostly dealing with some aspect of the value of theological education, were usually printed.

The academic session, fixed in 1822 to run from November to the end of July, was changed in 1826 to run from the beginning of October to the end of June. In order to obtain more time for study, the original closing date was restored in 1829, but restored in a trustee's meeting in July, 1830 "as some of the students cannot prosecute severe study, or do justice to themselves at the examination, in weather which may be expected to be so oppressive." Christmas and Easter vacations were abolished at this time, but restored in 1834.⁶⁷ For the convenience of non-resident professors, each class usually had only one recitation a day, but these recitations might last for two or three hours. The term "recitation" must not be taken too literally. Although the study of textbooks was the main method, the professors certainly considered themselves free to comment, discuss, criticize, or lecture. Like the professors in a mediaeval university, they were primarily lecturers in the original sense of the word, but this was not so much a substitute for the expression of their own ideas as the means used in doing so.⁶⁸ For some time the only formal examination was a public oral examination at the end of the year, given by the various professors in the presence of a committee of trustees. A similar mid-year examination was later added.

The three classes were at first numbered, from the top down. But since confusion was caused by a system under which men spent their

⁶⁵*Library committee reports in Proceedings; appeal for books by Turner in the Churchman, Vol. 2, September 22, 1832, p. 314; G. H. Feltus, The Feltus Family Book, New York, 1917, 61 pp.*

⁶⁶*See announcement in the Churchman, Vol. 1, August 6, 1831, p. 80.*

⁶⁷*The present American summer vacation period seems to date from about the time that the Seminary recognized it; Proceedings, pp. 233, 316, 330-331, 471.*

⁶⁸*Proceedings, pp. 133-145; cf. descriptions of the teaching of Professors Turner and Wilson cited above, notes 53 and 57.*

first year in the third class and their third year in the first class, the usual terms Junior, Middle, and Senior were introduced in 1832. For a while there was some difficulty in enforcing the three years' course, as the private reading for orders previously customary had naturally varied in length. The lengthening of the normal period of candidacy from one year to three, a change made in the General Convention of 1826, was of some help in this respect.⁶⁹ But perhaps more important was the fact that the existence of the General and Virginia Seminaries after a few years made the Seminary course the regular preparation for ordination.

The "solemnities of commencement" remained for some time as fixed at the first commencement in 1823. A typical example was the commencement of 1831, held in St. John's Chapel on July 1. Dr. Berrian, the rector of Trinity, lived next door, and the procession started from his house. The order was as follows: janitor, students, faculty, founders of scholarships and other benefactors, trustees, clergy, Bishops. Part of Psalm 122 (in the metrical version) was sung. Essays were read by the five members of the graduating class, an anthem being sung after the first three. Typical subjects were *The Wonders Wrought by the Magicians of Egypt* (B. I. Haight's paper), and *The Province of Reason in Religious Investigation*. The graduates were then presented to the senior Bishop present, Bishop Croes of New Jersey, and an address was delivered by another Bishop. Croes then presented the diplomas and, after the singing of a hymn, closed the ceremony with prayers.⁷⁰ As numbers increased, the reading of essays was restricted to selected graduates. The graduates received a diploma, usually referred to as the "testimonials of the Seminary." The question whether the Seminary could grant degrees was raised in the Board of Trustees by Bishop Doane in 1835, and referred to a committee which reported in the negative the next year. Bishop Onderdonk of New York made an interesting proposal that when an alumnus, being of the rank of M. A. and at least nine years in priest's orders, had distinguished himself by published works in theology he should be recommended to some college for the degree of D. D., but nothing came of it.⁷¹

It may be noticed that there was more continuity in theological education before and after the foundation of seminaries than at first appears. There had been considerable movement towards organiza-

⁶⁹*Proceedings*, pp. 213, 270, 362, 401.

⁷⁰*Churchman*, Vol. 1, July 2, 1831, p. 59; other commencements described in *Proceedings*, pp. 196-7, and A. W. Jenks, "Some Early Commencements" in the *American Church Monthly*, September, 1919, Vol. VI, pp. 3-15.

⁷¹*Proceedings*, pp. 485, 507, 546, 564; Onderdonk's proposal was based on the English system of degrees in divinity, as our present system of Th.D. in course is based on the German.

tion of studies before 1817, and up to 1836 the student body of the General Seminary was treated more as a group of men who happened to be reading theology in the same place than as an academic or Christian community. Only gradually was any discipline undertaken, or much responsibility assumed for the spiritual training, or even the physical well-being, of the students. In the latter respect the Seminary in its early days did little but provide rooms and let men live in them. The provision of food, and even the appointment of a janitor (who also served as steward and library attendant) was in the hands of a student committee. As a matter of interest a committee of trustees annually investigated the cost of living at the Seminary. These budgets, which include food, fuel, washing, and light, gradually rise from \$70.95 in 1831 to \$98.48 in 1836, due to "the increased cost of every necessary of life."⁷² Rent, as well as tuition, was free. By 1836 nine scholarships had been endowed at \$2,000 or \$2,500. Since the holders of scholarships received the full income from them, and investments could then be expected to yield 6%, they enjoyed some surplus over the estimated living expenses,—which did not, of course, include books or clothes. There were complaints of the unhealthiness of the building. Its dampness before the land was filled in west of Tenth Avenue certainly compelled some students to withdraw.

With some variations the meetings which Professor Turner had instituted at New Haven continued to be the chief common gathering of the Seminary as such. Although these occasions opened with the reading of Evening Prayer, the paper and discussion which followed seem to have been regarded as their chief purpose.⁷³ There are occasional references to Seminary prayers at other times, but except during the period when public Sunday services were held in the Chapel there was no regular administration of the Holy Communion until some time after 1836. The corporate religious life of the institution was more extensively maintained by voluntary organizations. The germ of the Missionary Society is in the Society of Inquiry Respecting the Advancement of Christianity of which Whittingham was secretary in 1824. This, however, had only a short life. The Sunday School Society was organized for the administration of the Seminary Sunday School in 1827, the Missionary Society founded on October 18, 1831. It at once began the program of informative meetings and the raising of funds which it has continued to sponsor, and became affiliated to the then still voluntary Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. Other organizations which have proved less permanent followed,—a Rhetorical Society, for practice

⁷²*Proceedings*, pp. 356, 508, 567-8.

⁷³*Ibid.*, p. 139; *Bronson*, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

in public speaking, in 1832, and a Bible, Common Prayer, and Tract Society in 1834.⁷⁴

The beginning of the end of this perhaps too untrammelled period of student life came in 1837 when the trustees adopted a series of measures of which Bishop Doane and Professor Whittingham were probably chief movers. The responsibilities of the Dean were enlarged to include pastoral care and the enforcement of necessary discipline. Morning and Evening Prayer were to be used daily. The janitor became an employee of the Seminary. Provision was to be made for an infirmary, and for facilities for physical exercise.⁷⁵ It was probably better that these provisions came after experience had shown their desirability rather than as part of a scheme imposed in advance.

The lighter side of student life is rarely a matter of historical record, but it must not be assumed that it was absent in past periods. If there were no bakeries in Chelsea for the discussion of those high and weighty matters which students talk about in the evening, still groups of friends "discussed all the affairs of the church so wisely, and then adjourned and took a nice long walk," or perhaps decided merely to "eat brown bread and sit before the fire."⁷⁶ During Whittingham's earnest student days he received a warning to relax and take better care of himself, solemnly dated "At a meeting of the students of the General Theological Seminary, held nobody knows when and nobody cares where" and presided over by Henry J. Whitehouse, the future Bishop of Illinois.⁷⁷

In the Missionary Society and in their work in the Sunday Schools of the city, for it soon became a normal thing for students to engage in that work, these early students of the General Seminary were reaching out for contact with the Church they planned to serve and the world in which they were to work. By 1836 there were 120 graduates and about 100 other former students, the difference being largely accounted for by the irregular studies of the first few years. Among their number in addition to those already mentioned were such Bishops, or future Bishops, as Doane, Eastburn, and Horatio Potter, such future professors as S. R. Johnson, Eigenbrodt, and Haight, such distinguished presbyters of later years as William Croswell and A. H. Vinton. But the full value of the lives of the graduates of a Seminary is obviously beyond the limits of an article, or even the sphere of

⁷⁴*Report of the Committee of Correspondence and Publication of the Society of Enquiry Respecting the Advancement of Christianity Attached to the General Theological Seminary, New York, 1824, 12 pp.; Proceedings, p. 521; Catalogue, 1834-5, p. 12. The Rhetorical Society paralleled a type of organization popular at that time in colleges.*

⁷⁵*Proceedings, pp. 585-6, 611-2, 615-9.*

⁷⁶*Letter of Arthur Carey in C. A. Walworth, Early Ritualism in America, Reminiscences of Edgar P. Wadhams, New York (cop. 1893), 196 pp., p. 42.*

⁷⁷*Brand, Whittingham, Vol. 1, p. 33.*

human research altogether. The Associate Alumni were organized in 1832, with 23 members out of the then 51 graduates. At or about commencement they gathered for a sermon and an essay by two of their members. S. R. Johnson was president, and Whittingham one of the chief spirits in the organization.⁷⁸

It is no part of the writer of an historical essay to act as a judge or divider over the men of the period which he is studying. But it is legitimate to ask, in recording the history of an institution, how far it secured the purposes for which it was founded. The documents of the time when the Seminary was started mention several purposes. Of these four are perhaps the chief,—more efficient theological education, the promotion of learning, the encouragement of candidates for orders by the provision of scholarships and other facilities, the encouragement of their growth in devotion. We have seen how the first three of these aims were in the way to being secured in 1836. Perhaps it was partly the character of the professors, partly the absence of any Anglican precedents for Seminary life, which left the students so largely to their own devices for the last. The Seminary staff represented both high churchmanship and moderate Episcopalianism. It is doubtful whether such firm Calvinists as the contemporary professors at Virginia could have lived in peace in the same faculty with men of different opinions, or they with them. But perhaps the absence of Evangelicals from its faculty, although not from its student body, deprived the Seminary of that note of enthusiastic devotion which was later to come to it from other sources.

It has been the effort of this paper to record what the sources tell us about the early history of the General Seminary. It has been interesting to associate with those long-dead professors, their friends and students, these founders and benefactors after whom our buildings have since been named; and their lives are not without inspiration and guidance for the present.⁷⁹

⁷⁸Churchman, Vol. 2, September 22, 1832, p. 315; December 15, 1832, p. 362.

⁷⁹The chief sources for all accounts of the early history of the Seminary are Turner's *Autobiography* and the *Proceedings* (of which pp. 1-156 contain extracts from *Convention Journals* and pamphlets relating to the foundation of the Seminary, pp. 157-215 print the previously ms. trustees' minutes of 1821-4, and 217-668 reprint the minutes of 1825-1838). Short accounts of Professors Turner, Wilson and Seabury appear in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. See Eugene A. Hoffman, "Historical Sketch of the General Theological Seminary," in William S. Perry, *The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587-1883* (2 vols.), Boston, 1885, II, pp. 507-534. See also Creighton Spencer-Mounsey, "The Genesis of the General Seminary," *Bulletin of the G. T. S.*, XIX, No. 1 (Feb., 1933), pp. 22-44.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT IN THE SEMINARY

By E. Clowes Chorley¹

IN the Year of our Lord, 1827, John Keble published the *Christian Year*, which "woke up in the hearts of thousands a new music, the music of a school long unknown in England." Six years later he preached the memorable sermon on "National Apostasy" at Oxford. Of that sermon, Newman wrote: "I have ever considered and kept the day, as the start of the religious Movement of 1833." The first of the Oxford Tracts from the pen of Newman appeared on September 9th of that year. The adherence of so great a scholar as Dr. Pusey gave strength and balance to the cause, the first phase of which ended with the issue of Tract 90 in 1841. On a dark and stormy night four years later Newman flung himself at the feet of the Passionist Father Dominic and asked to be received into "the one fold of the Redeemer."

In the earlier period little notice appears to have been taken of the Tracts in the American Church. The Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury, editor of *The Churchman*, wrote editorially: "We have not espoused the Tracts for the Times as partizans. Some of the earlier numbers have been lying by us for several years, and from time to time we used to insert one, or part of one, in our columns; but finding that they were regarded as dry reading, we left by far the greater part of those which we had to the dust of our library, without disturbing them ourselves, or thrusting them on our readers."² Real interest here, however, was aroused by the publication of Newman's Tract on Justification, which seriously alarmed our Evangelical Bishops. Even Seabury expressed the view that Newman had "substantially espoused the Roman side, and surrendered the views which, as we have been accustomed to think, discriminate the Church of England from the Romanists on the one hand, and the Puritans on the other." Nevertheless, Dr. Seabury in *The Churchman* was the main advocate for the publishing of the Tracts in America. Whereupon the *Gambier Observer*, the organ of the Low Churchmen, declared: "Let them not be republished, any more than you would offer poisoned meat in the hamboes. They will disgrace the Church that patronises them, and

¹Copyrighted.

²*The Churchman*, November 30, 1839.

corrupt the minds that receive what they contain . . . The meat is putrid to the bone."

On June 29, 1839, Mr. Samuel Coleman, publisher, of New York, announced in the advertising columns of *The Churchman* his intention to issue "A Selection of the most interesting and valuable among the Writings that have appeared within a few years in England, and which are commonly known under the name of the OXFORD THEOLOGY." The series was to begin with the Tracts for the Times by Members of the University of Oxford and to be followed by a series of Plain Sermons. Part of the profits of publication would be donated to the General Theological Seminary. Seabury commended the enterprise. He wrote:

"Most sincerely, therefore, do we hope that Mr. Coleman's project may be peacefully encouraged, and that the Oxford theology may be widely circulated; that no controversy may be awakened by it; but that the members of the Church may be left to form an unbiased opinion of its merits."

One or more of the trustees of the Seminary objected to its benefiting by the sale of the Tracts and Mr. Coleman's project was taken over by Louis Sherman, of the Protestant Episcopal Press, New York. The Preface to the American edition of the Tracts read as follows:

"This republication has been commenced from the conviction that these writings are even more important for this country than for that in which they first appeared. For while in the bosom of the Episcopal Church in this country, from influences derived from the non-juring period of English church history and from our Church having no connection with the State, it has resulted that some of the leading doctrines of the Oxford divines, relating to the constitution of the Church, and to the Ministry, have been better preserved than in the English establishment—yet on the other hand, from a variety of causes, loose and vague views in regard to the value of antiquity, the authority of the Church, the doctrine of the sacraments, &c., are widely prevalent, it is apprehended, even in the Episcopal body, and still more in the religious community at large; and for these evils the corrective influence of these writings is perhaps more needful than in England."

The Tracts had a surprisingly large sale in the United States. Bishop Stewart of Quebec remarked that he had heard more about them in a three-days sojourn in New York than in a year's residence in London.³ The reception seems to have been exceptionally favor-

³*Memoir Dr. Milnor*, p. 458.

able in the diocese of New York, which was "riddled" with what Dr. Milnor called "the Oxford heresy." Three factors contributed to this result: the influence of the Bishop, who was also a Professor in the Seminary; the powerful advocacy of *The Churchman*, and the General Theological Seminary, where the Oxford theology was in high favor among many of the students and some influential members of the Faculty.

In season and out of season Bishop Onderdonk was an earnest advocate of the Tracts, which he eulogized "as being the same which he has taught for many years, even long before the movement in Great Britain."⁴ Dr. Milnor, rector of St. George's, wrote:

"And now in reference to this dangerous system, I fear that it is to obtain an influence in our Church quite equal to that which it is exercising across the water. In our diocese, the bishop expresses his entire approval of its doctrines. In answer to a clergyman who said that he could go half way with the authors of the Tracts, the bishop told him to read and study them more attentively, and he would be prepared, like himself, to go the whole. He inquires of all candidates for orders, whether they have read them; and, if not, urges them to do so; and many of the students in the seminary are their loud eulogists. . . . I verily believe that when about half a dozen precious souls shall have left the institution, there will scarcely remain an advocate for the scriptural doctrines of our articles and homilies in their plain, unsophisticated sense."⁵

This was no partisan judgment. In his address to the Convention of 1841, Bishop Onderdonk made a scathing attack on Protestantism, which he described as:

"Riven to the center with internal dissension; covering with its name every variety of schism, and every bold and wicked innovation of heresy; forming an unholy alliance with the veriest infidelity."⁶

As a safeguard against such a condition, he commended the Oxford Tracts, especially to the laity.

"I have been much pleased to know that the Oxford Tracts have arrested the attention of some of the most intelligent and seriously minded among you. I would it were more so. Among their best influences are the *spiritual views* which they give of the Church, and all departments

⁴*Memoir Dr. Milnor*, p. 450.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 448.

⁶*Journal of Convention of Diocese of New York, 1841*, pp. 80-81.

of its service, business, and operations. Let our worthy laity who, parochially or otherwise, are called into the charge and conduct of any department of ecclesiastical concerns, duly reflect on the views of the Christian Church, its objects, its character, and its operations, which these Tracts afford, and I cannot but think that by the divine blessing on their good sense and moral principle, there will be a happy deliverance from the weight of worldly principles, views, feelings, and operations, which now presses down the Church to a level so secular, and often of so questionable a moral character.'"⁷

At the outset *The Churchman* was cautious in its commendation of the Tracts, but as time passed, it threw reserve to the winds. Seabury was undismayed by the appearance of Tract 90. He described the principle of the Tract as "the toleration in our communion of those who were not opposed to the doctrinal decrees of Trent." Whilst questioning some of the positions taken, he went on to say "that the principles of interpretation adopted in the Tract are, in our opinion, and as we understand it, neither evasive nor slippery, but honest, manly and straightforward." He laid the blame for Newman's defection at the door of the English Church, and especially the Bishops for their countenance of loose doctrine.

Soon after the republication of the Tracts here the General Seminary fell under suspicion. Rumors were widely circulated that the Oxford movement was favored by many of the students, and certain members of the Faculty.

So far as the students were concerned, there seems to have been ample ground for the suspicion. In 1895 there was published a book entitled *The Oxford Movement in America: Glimpses of Life in an Anglican Seminary*. The author was the Reverend Clarence E. Walworth, then rector of St. Mary's Roman Church, Albany, New York. In 1842 he abandoned the practice of law and entered the General Seminary as a candidate for Holy Orders. Though needing to be read with discrimination, the book is valuable for the light it sheds upon Seminary life and thought from 1842 to about 1846. Arthur Carey was a classmate. The Oxford theology was taken very seriously. On the poetry table lay *The Christian Year* side by side with the *Lyra Apostolica*. Faber, too, was "recognized as one of them." Walworth adds:

"But a greater charm than any of these possessed was to be found in the *Lives of the Early English Saints*. This was a series of biographies written by Anglicans of the Oxford

⁷*Journal of Convention of Diocese of New York, 1841, p. 85.*

school, and was a most influential element in its great movement towards real Catholic truth and life.”⁸

After tracing the germ of the monastic idea among the students, among whom were Adams and Breck, Walworth says of the whole situation:

“We had, in truth, a little Oxford on this side of the Atlantic. It was located in a little suburban appendix to New York City, known as Chelsea. Its name was the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church.”⁹

There were six members of the Faculty. The senior member was Professor Turner, whose autobiography is indispensable for this period. He was distinguished for great learning and a hatred of Gregorian chants. Bird Wilson, the biographer of Bishop White, was a conservative churchman. Clement C. Moore, Professor of Hebrew, was a layman. Dr. Benjamin I. Haight was a churchman of the Hobart type, who combined the rectorship of a parish with his chair in the Seminary. Bishop Onderdonk had long held the professorship of the “Nature, Ministry and Polity of the Church.” Professor Ogilby, who had come from the Faculty of Rutgers College, had the department of Ecclesiastical History in succession to Bishop Whittingham. Walworth describes him as “a partisan scholar. . . . It was difficult to say which foes he disliked most, Catholics or dissenters.”¹⁰ Partly because of their oft-expressed views and partly because of the Chairs they occupied, Bishop Onderdonk, Dr. Haight and Dr. Ogilby were the objects of the attack of the Low Church element.

About 1840 it became evident that a crisis in the affairs of the Seminary was approaching. Writing under date of January 31, 1840, Dr. Milnor addressed a letter to Bishop McIlvaine, in the course of which he said:

“Many of the students in the Seminary—though few have read more than the numbers republished in New York—are yet loud eulogists, and consider the promulgation of these ‘primitive views’ as constituting a more propitious era to the Church than that of the Reformation; the fanaticism of whose conductors carried them so far *ultra mediam viam*, in their correction of a few acknowledged errors in the Roman Church. We thought we had achieved somewhat when we prevented the return of ———— to his temporary pro-

⁸Walworth, p. 103.

⁹Ibid., p. 119.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 30.

fessorship; but, unhappily, the seminary contains a man of more influence, one who constantly exerts that influence in favor of Puseyism, and whose reputation for learning and piety enables him to exercise a powerful control over the students.¹¹ A few of them come to me to unburden their griefs, and especially to deplore the sad effects of the Oxford divinity on the spirituality of some of their associates, of whose evangelical tendency they had, some time ago, the brightest hopes. I verily believe that when about half a dozen precious souls shall have left the institution, there will remain scarcely an advocate for the scriptural doctrines of our articles and homilies in their plain, unsophisticated sense. And then, when we consider the advanced age of one or two of our evangelical bishops, which will prevent their effective opposition, the balancing state of mind in some of their juniors, and the reluctance of others to engage in controversy, my fears grow still more serious, and my only confidence is that 'when the enemy cometh in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord will lift up a standard against him.' "¹²

That this view was shared by some of the laymen is shown by an extract from a speech made in the Diocesan Convention after the Carey ordination by Judge John Duer, a lay delegate from St. Mark's in the Bowerie, and a man who was held in profound respect. In the course of debate he said:

"The doctrines of the Tractarian writers of Oxford have, in certain quarters, been openly embraced—have been propagated in the diocese with unusual diligence and zeal, and in a journal which claims to be the legitimate organ of the church, have not only been defended and maintained with signal ability, skill, and learning. They have become a favorite study of the youth in our Seminary, the future candidates for orders, and by many of the younger clergy, who have issued from the Seminary they have been passionately embraced, and are now zealously propagated."¹³

The storm broke over the ordination of Arthur Carey, who was regarded as the most brilliant student in the Seminary, where he spent four years. A young man of unusual charm and deep piety, he had been profoundly affected by the Oxford Movement. When the time drew near for his ordination, his rector, the Rev. Dr. Hugh Smith, of St. Peter's Church, refused to sign the necessary canonical testimonials on the ground that he could not certify that Carey "had never written, taught or held anything contrary to the doctrine

¹¹The reference is undoubtedly to Bishop Whittingham, who at the time this letter was written was Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Librarian of the Seminary.

¹²Memoir of Dr. Milnor, p. 544.

¹³Walworth, pp. 123-24.

or discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church." The candidate then obtained the papers from Trinity parish. His testimonials were approved by the standing committee and he passed the prescribed canonical examinations.

Learning of opposition to the proposed ordination, Bishop Onderdonk summoned a special examining board consisting of eight representative presbyters. Included in the board were Drs. Hugh Smith and Henry Anthon, who acted both as accusers and judges. Although many pamphlets were subsequently published, there is still some confusion as to some of the proceedings. It is clear, however, that Smith and Anson subjected Carey to a severe and prolonged cross examination, consisting in the main of hypothetical questions. Dr. Anthon proposed the first question:

"Supposing entrance into the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country were not open to you, would you, or would you not, have recourse in such case to the Church of Rome?"

Dr. McVickar, one of the examiners, remarked "that they might as well ask Mr. Carey whether, if he had lived in the time of the patriarchs, he would have married two wives." When Anthon insisted upon a categorical answer, Carey replied:

"Possibly I might, after due deliberation, but think I should be much more likely to remain in our own communion, as I have no special leaning towards the joining of theirs at present."

Q. "Do you hold to, and receive, the doctrines of the Council of Trent?"

A. "I do not deny them—I would not positively affirm them."

Asked concerning his belief in the doctrine of Transubstantiation, Carey replied that he did not hold the doctrine which the 28th Article condemns, but added: "At the same time, I conceive myself at liberty to confess ignorance on the mode of the Presence." The withholding of the cup from the laity he regarded as "a severe act of discipline." Other questions concerned the doctrine of Purgatory; where the sin of schism rested, on the Church of Rome, or the Church of England, and if the latter, by implication, the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States? Whether the faithful departed can be benefited by our prayers, or by the administration of the Holy Communion? And so the story runs. It was an unprecedented and try-

ing ordeal for a young man of twenty-one who was called upon to answer such questions on the spur of the moment.

After Carey had withdrawn the presbyters were asked one by one to give their verdict. Six declared themselves as entirely satisfied, Dr. Seabury saying "that he should esteem it a privilege to present the candidate for orders, as he had sustained his ordeal most nobly."¹⁴ Drs. Smith and Anthon were decidedly unfavorable, the latter declared that "in the whole course of his ministry he had never attended an examination conducted in a manner so painful, and in which so many *impediments* were thrown in the way of his arriving at a definite knowledge of the candidate's views."¹⁵ The Bishop who presided with great dignity withheld his decision, but intimated that when it was taken it would be carried out without regard to consequences.

On the following day Bishop Onderdonk announced his intention to ordain Carey.

The service was appointed to be held in St. Stephen's Church, New York City, on Sunday morning, July 2, 1843. It proceeded as usual until the time came for the reading of the challenge to the congregation. At that point Drs. Smith and Anthon, dressed in full canonicals, stepped out into the aisle and read the following protest:

"I . . . come forth, in the name of God, to declare, before Him and this congregation, my solemn conviction and belief that there is a most serious and weighty impediment to the ordination of Mr. Arthur Carey . . . founded upon his holding sentiments not conformable to the doctrine of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and in too close conformity with the Church of Rome. . . . Now, therefore, under a sacred sense of duty to the Church, and to its Divine Head, who purchased it with His blood, I do again, before God and this congregation, thus solemnly and publicly protest against his ordination to the diaconate."

Amid a stillness which could be felt, the Bishop arose and read this statement:

"The accusation now brought against one of the persons presented to be ordained deacon has recently been fully investigated by me with the knowledge and in the presence of his accusers, and with the advantage of the valuable aid and counsel of six of the worthiest, wisest and most learned of the presbyters of this diocese, including the three who are assisting in the present solemnities. The result was

¹⁴Walworth, p. 49.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 50.

that there was no just ground for rejecting the candidate's application for holy orders. There is consequently no reason for any change in the solemn service of the day, and therefore all these persons, being found meet to be ordained, are commended to the prayers of the congregation."¹⁶

Whereupon the protesters left the church.

Bishop Onderdonk took the position that the challenge in the ordination service is addressed exclusively to the laity, the clergy having other opportunities to make known their views. It is worthy of note that so stalwart an Evangelical as Dr. Stephen H. Tyng agreed with the Bishop in this interpretation. Unhappily, the ministry of Arthur Carey, obtained through much tribulation, was short-lived. After serving for a few months as deacon, his health failed and he died at sea in his twenty-second year.

There were larger issues. For the Bishop it had ominous results. But for the Carey ordination it is doubtful if Bishop Onderdonk would have been presented for trial. It was with the ordination in mind that the Pastoral Letter of the House of Bishops in the following year said, in part:

"We feel it our duty to declare that no person should be ordained who is not well acquainted with the landmarks which separate us from the Church of Rome; and being so, who will not distinctly declare himself a Protestant, heartily abjuring her corruptions, as our reformers did; and it is our solemn counsel to all professors in our theological seminaries, and all others who are concerned in the preparation of candidates for holy orders, to be faithful in their duties, that neither Romanists on the one hand, nor the enemies of the Episcopal Church on the other, may have cause to boast that we have departed in the slightest degree from the spirit and principles of the Reformation, as exemplified in the Church of England."

What is more important for the purpose of this article is to note the effect of this ordination upon the Seminary. The Evangelicals and the Evangelical church papers put the blame squarely upon the Seminary. The *Episcopal Recorder* pointed out that the Bishop still was a Professor in the Seminary and that "two of his reverend confederates were members of the Faculty at the time they aided and abetted that surprising and certainly that most significant transaction." It went on to say:

"It taught impressively to the young men under the care of these Professors that they may denounce the spirit

¹⁶The Churchman, July 8, 1843. From an article signed N. E. O., and believed to have been written by the Bishop himself.

and doctrines of the Reformation, and still be Protestants; that they may adopt the dogmas of Trent, and the creed of Pius, and still not be Romanists—at least not in any sense which would make it dishonest for them to remain in the communion of the Church in which they have been baptized; and even minister at her altars. Professors Onderdonk, Ogilby and Haight may rest assured that in effecting this ordination they made an impression upon the pupils of that Seminary which abstract disquisitions never could produce. It involved within itself a whole course of theological instruction. It was the speculative passing into the practical. It was thought embodied. It was an entire system of divinity condensed and *chrystalized* in visible development.”¹⁷

An investigation of the Seminary was inevitable. The diocese of South Carolina took the first step. At a meeting of the diocesan convention held in February, 1844, the following resolutions were adopted:

“1st. *Resolved*, That the Convention again commend the Institution to the continued Christian solicitude of the Church, and to the earnest prayers of all, that this fountain of learning may be kept ever pure by the presence of the Holy Spirit, and that so by the blessing of God upon those whom it sends forth, ‘the comfortable Gospel of Christ may be truly preached’ to the breaking down the kingdom of sin, Satan, and death, and the gathering into one fold, the whole of his dispersed sheep.”

“2nd. *Resolved*, That in justice, alike to the Seminary and the Church, the Trustees be requested to investigate the grounds of the rumours unfavorable to the institution, that, so if they be sound, no damage may accrue to the one, and if unsound, an unjust stigma may be removed from the other, and that the Trustees from this Diocese be requested to bring the matter before the board, and to report to the next meeting of this Convention.”

At the June meeting of the Seminary trustees the South Carolina resolutions were formally presented by the Rev. W. H. Barnewell, of that diocese, who offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That a Committee to consist of seven—three bishops, one of them being Chairman; two Presbyters and two Laymen, be appointed to inquire and report to the Board, at its ensuing Triennial Meeting, whether there be any, and, if any, what grounds for the rumor that the instruction imparted in the Seminary deviates from the

¹⁷*Episcopal Recorder*, March 15, 1845.

standards of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States."¹⁸

Whereupon a substitute was offered by the Rev. Dr. William Cooper Mead, of Connecticut, reading:

Resolved, That the said resolutions be referred to a committee to consist of seven members to report in the fullest manner."¹⁹

The substitute was adopted. The committee consisted of Bishop William H. De Lancey, of Western New York, a Hobart High Churchman; Manton Eastburn, Bishop of Massachusetts, a militant Low Churchman; the Revs. W. H. Barnewell and Paul Trapier, of South Carolina; the Rev. Dr. Mead, of Connecticut, and Messrs. Edward Newton, of Pennsylvania, and Thomas L. Ogden, of New York. Bishop Gadsen, of South Carolina, declined to serve.

The committee proceeded with its investigation. The secretary reported "the following as *rumours* that had reached him," viz., that,

"1st. The Reverend Professor of Ecclesiastical History has taught in recitation that the practice of infant communion as used in the early Church is not unwarrantable."

"2nd. The same Professor has said that the Roman Church may not be declared heretical, because no General Council has so decided."²⁰

The secretary then added another rumour, viz.,

"That, even after the appearance of the famous '*Nineteenth Tract*,' the Rt. Rev. Prof. of Ecclesiastical Polity recommended to his 'Convention, and endorsed officially and publicly, the whole series of Tracts for the Times, without any reservation or exception.' "

All of which were solemnly inserted in the Minutes "as a subject for the investigation of the committee."

At a subsequent meeting certain "Heads of Inquiry" were adopted. They were as follows:

1. "Whether, in the instructions of the Professors to the Students of the Seminary, any and what text books are used, other than those duly authorized or recommended? Whether the writings called the 'Oxford Tracts,' or any of them, have been adopted or used as text books? and whether in any other, and what particulars, the course of instruction

¹⁸*Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, Vol. II, p. 393.*

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 393.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 419.

prescribed by the standards of the Church have been deviated from?"

2. "Whether any, and what books, other than those so authorized or recommended, and especially the writings called the 'Oxford Tracts,' are or have been recommended to the approbation or perusal of the Students, and by what Professor, and under what limitations or circumstances?"

3. "Whether, in the intercourse between the Professors, or any of them, and the Students, either in the Seminary apartments, or elsewhere, any influence, direct or indirect, is exerted, with a view to inculcate any errors of the Romish Church, or any doctrines inconsistent with the Articles of the Prot. Episcopal Church, or having a tendency to encourage or palliate any such errors or doctrines?"

4. "Do the teachings of the Professors inculcate that Holy Scripture is the supreme rule of faith, as is taught in the 6th Article of the 39?"²¹

The committee then determined that a copy of these "Heads of Inquiry" be furnished to each Professor with instructions to reply in writing to the questions. It went further and discriminated between the Faculty. Bishop Onderdonk, Dr. Ogilby and Dr. Haight were directed to be personally in attendance "for the purpose of answering such interrogatories as may then be proposed to them respectively." The three Low Churchmen—Turner, Clement C. Moore and Bird Wilson—replied rather tartly to what Professor Moore described as "idle and malicious rumours." Dr. Haight doubted the constitutionality of the questions and declined to attend the meeting of the committee, saying, "I cannot but regard the restriction of the request to two of my colleagues and myself as invidious in the extreme."²² Dr. Ogilby was even more outspoken. He wrote:

"Without impugning the motives of the Committee, or of any member thereof, I regard the invidious designation of *three* out of the *six* members of the Faculty, as evidence that the *effect* of the resolution (whatever its design) would be, if possible, to make the parties summoned criminate themselves. Though perfectly willing to give all reasonable satisfaction to the friends of the Seminary, in every proper way, and ready promptly to meet any charges which may be brought against myself, fairly and openly, I must respectfully, but peremptorily, decline being party to so injurious a precedent."²³

Bishop Onderdonk, referring to the "Heads of Inquiry," remarked "that it assumes for the committee a right to sit in judgment

²¹*Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, Vol. II, p. 421.*

²²*Ibid.*, p. 431.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 433.

on my episcopal acts and counsels—against which I utterly protest; and therefore I have nothing more to reply to it.”

Baffled by the lack of co-operation, the committee asked to be discharged and in so doing expressed the view that the duty of investigating any rumors adverse to the Seminary should be undertaken by the Bishops, who were the official visitors of the Seminary.

So the matter rested until the triennial meeting of the Board, at which the official report was to be adopted for the presentation to the forthcoming General Convention. The draft of the report proceeded on the usual lines until the last paragraph, which read thus: ‘In conclusion, the Trustees feel assured that the General Theological Seminary has never been in a more healthful condition than it is at the present time.’²⁴ A motion was made to strike out this clause. It was defeated by a majority of one. The vote was not on party lines, for such High Church bishops as Kemper, Brownell and Hopkins were in the minority.

The scene then shifted to the General Convention of 1844, at which time a supreme effort to have the Convention issue a formal condemnation of the theology of the Oxford Tracts failed after scenes of great excitement.

The affairs of the Seminary were much to the front. The first move was the presentation to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies of the following:

“MEMORIAL FROM SEVEN TRUSTEES OF THE GENERAL
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

To the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, assembled in General Convention, A. D. 1844.

“The undersigned, Trustees of the General Theological Seminary, voting in the minority and against the adoption of the Triennial Report presented at this session to the General Convention, beg leave respectfully to lay before the Convention a brief statement, furnishing, together with the reasons of their dissent from the said Report, facts, which in the judgment of the undersigned, demand the serious consideration of the Council of the Church.

At the stated meeting of the Trustees held in New York, on the 30th of September last, the above named Report on the state of the Seminary was submitted by the Standing Committee of the Trustees, to be adopted by the Board, and transmitted as their Report to the General Convention at its present session. Upon its being read, its consideration was on motion postponed, until after hear-

²⁴*Proceedings, Vol. II, p. 441.*

ing the Report of a special Committee, consisting of three Bishops, two Presbyters, and two Laymen, which had been appointed by the Board in June last. . . . (Here follows the report of that committee.) In this aspect of the case, the undersigned felt themselves justified in withholding their assent from the Report when the question was taken on its adoption, and particularly from the unqualified commendation of the Seminary with which it concludes. They object to the Triennial Report, because it pronounces confidently upon the doctrinal soundness of the Seminary, at the very time when that very question, under the Board's own authority, is undergoing a solemn investigation, and because it sends that confident declaration to the General Convention after that Committee has reported its work to be undone, and to have been prevented by the refusal of certain Professors to appear before it, and when in consequence of such refusal, the Bishops, as Visitors, have been requested to pursue the investigation, and have resolved to do so, as they have informed your House.

In conclusion, the undersigned feel themselves constrained to ask the attention of the House, to the extraordinary fact, that whilst hitherto, and as it is believed without a solitary exception, the Triennial Reports of the state of the Seminary, have been adopted without a dissenting voice by the Trustees in session; in the present instance, in a Board composed of ten Bishops, twenty-seven Clerical and fifteen Lay Trustees, on the motion for adopting the Triennial Report being put, five Bishops, fourteen Clerical and six Lay Trustees recorded their votes against the report in its present form, and that it was consequently adopted by a majority of *one* only, in its present form, and with the unqualified declaration that 'the Seminary has never been in a more healthful condition.' "

All which is respectfully submitted.

John H. Hopkins,
Chas. P. McIlvaine,
Mamton Eastburn,
Wm. H. Barnewell,
H. Anthon,
P. G. Stuyvesant,
Edward Neufville."

In the House of Bishops the High Churchmen made the first move. On the motion of Bishop George Washington Doane, seconded by Bishop L. S. Ives, the following resolution was adopted and ordered to be sent to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies:

"Whereas, the Bishops, by the Second Article of the Constitution of the General Theological Seminary, are individually and collectively Visitors thereof, to see that the instruction and discipline be duly carried out,

Resolved, That they will proceed, with all convenient dispatch, to discharge their office as such Visitors; and that to this end, Bishops Hopkins, De Lancey, and Gadsen be a Committee to prepare a plan of proceedings in the premises, and a suitable list of questions, which together with such as may be suggested by the Bishops individually, shall be addressed to the Professors of the Seminary severally, and to report the same on Friday next, at 12 o'clock."²⁵

On behalf of the Low Churchmen, Bishop McIlvaine succeeded in adding a proviso that the proceedings of the Board of Trustees of the Seminary, and all the documents concerning the investigation following the South Carolina resolutions should be placed at the disposal of the Bishops as Visitors. A little later the House of Bishops invited the Deputies to approve a Joint Committee to consider the Triennial Report of the Trustees of the Seminary. The House concurred.

At the eighth day's session Bishop Hopkins presented the committee's suggestions for the order of procedure, coupled with a list of the proposed questions to be addressed to the Seminary Professors. Individual Bishops added other questions, all of which were ordered sent to the members of the Faculty, "and their answers to the same be respectfully requested at their earliest convenience."

For the purposes of record and interesting to all who are gifted with any sense of humor, the questions are here presented as they appear in an Appendix to the Journal of 1844:

QUESTIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PROFESSORS OF THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY BY THE BISHOPS AS VISITORS

The Bishops, as visitors of the General Theological Seminary, respectfully request your answers to the following questions relative to the instructions and condition of the General Theological Seminary, and that the answers be forwarded at once to the Presiding Bishop at Philadelphia.

1. What have you taught concerning the Church of Rome, as being in error in matters of faith?
2. What concerning the right of any Church to pronounce concerning another Church, as being in error in matters of faith?
3. What concerning the Homilies as expository of the doctrines of the Church?

²⁵*Journal 1844 Convention, p. 120.*

4. What concerning the correctness of the principles of Tract 90, in interpreting the doctrines of this Church, especially as they are contained in the 39 Articles?
5. What concerning the consistency of a clergyman's receiving at the same time, the doctrines of this Church and the doctrinal decrees of the Council of Trent, or any of them, the damnatory clauses excepted?
6. What concerning the obligation of a clergyman of this Church to be conformed in doctrine to the 39 Articles *in their literal and grammatical sense*, as well as concerning any liberty of *reservation*?
7. What concerning the authority of a General Council in determining questions of doctrine and making symbols of faith obligatory upon all Christians?
8. What concerning the infallibility of the Church?
9. What have you taught concerning the difference between the doctrine of the decrees of Trent and the popular doctrine of Rome, and of the compatibility of the doctrine of this Church with either?
10. In what manner is the doctrine of the real presence in the administration of the Eucharist taught in the Seminary?
11. Are the works of Toplady, of Thomas Scott, and John Newton, and Blunt on the Articles, or any of them, used as text books or publicly or privately recommended to the students in the Seminary?
12. Are the works of the Rev. Dr. Pusey, Messrs. Newman, Keble, Palmer, Ward and Massingberd, or any of them, used as text books, or publicly or privately recommended in the Seminary?
13. What is the condition of the Seminary, concerning the diligence, piety and order of the pupils, and the general tone of their manners and behaviour?
14. Has it been publicly or privately taught in the Seminary that any portion of the sacred narrative in the Book of Genesis is in the nature of a myth, or is merely or principally allegorical?
15. Has it been publicly or privately taught in the Seminary that any portions of the Historical Books of the Old Testament are of uninspired origin?

16. Have any disparaging remarks, as to the character of such of the ancient Fathers, as are recommended in the course of ecclesiastical studies, established by the House of Bishops in 1804, or any of the "ancient authors" referred to in the ordinal, or as to the value of their testimony, been made publicly or privately in the Seminary?
17. What is taught in the Seminary, either publicly or privately, respecting that large body of English divinity which is called the Calvinistic view of the 39 Articles?
18. Are the Morning and Evening Prayers of the Church used in the Chapel, and are the students required to be present and bear part in the daily service?
19. What pastoral care is exercised over the students, and what means are employed to promote in them a spirit of devotion and habits of practical piety?
20. Are the Holy Scriptures publicly and privately taught in the Seminary as the only Rule of Faith?
21. Are the Holy Scriptures publicly and privately taught in the Seminary, as containing all things necessary to salvation?
22. Is the divine inspiration and authority of every book of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments publicly and privately taught in the Seminary?
23. Are the Books of the Apocrypha, or any of them, publicly or privately referred to as of canonical authority in the Seminary?
24. In interpreting Holy Scripture, are the students publicly and privately taught to rely exclusively on their own individual judgment, or to look for aid in understanding it, with humble prayer to God, to the interpretation put upon it by those early Fathers, the study of whom is recommended by the House of Bishops?
25. What commentaries and helps, in the exposition of Holy Scripture, are recommended to the students in the Seminary?
26. In settling questions concerning the Institutions of the Church, such as Episcopacy, Confirmation, and the Sacraments, are the students publicly and privately taught diligently to read Holy Scripture and ancient authors?

27. Are the students publicly or privately taught to regard the English Reformation of the 16th Century as a useless or unjustifiable proceeding?
28. Are the Oxford Tracts adopted as Text Books in the Seminary?
29. Are the Oxford Tracts publicly or privately recommended to the students in the Seminary?
30. Is the Oxford Tract No. 90 used as a Text Book, or publicly or privately recommended in the Seminary, as teaching the true doctrines of the Church?
31. Is Calvinism, comprehending what are known as "the Five Points," publicly or privately taught or recommended in the Seminary?
32. Is any one of the Five Points of Calvinism publicly or privately taught or recommended in the Seminary?
33. Is the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as repudiated by the 33rd Article of the Church, publicly or privately taught or recommended in the Seminary?
34. Is the doctrine of Consubstantiation publicly or privately taught or recommended in the Seminary?
35. Are the doctrinal and other errors of the Romish Church as referred to in the 39 Articles, duly exposed in the instructions of the Seminary?
36. Are any superstitious practices of the Romish Church, such as the use or worship of the crucifix, of images of saints, and the invocation of the Blessed Virgin and other saints, adopted or publicly or privately recommended in the Seminary?
37. Is the German system of Rationalism, i. e., of rejecting everything mysterious in the doctrines and institutions of the Gospel and making human reason the sole umpire in Theology, adopted or publicly or privately recommended in the Seminary?
38. Are German or other authors, who support that system, adopted as text books, or publicly or privately recommended as guides of Theological opinion in the Seminary?
39. What are the deviations, if any, from the course of study prescribed by the House of Bishops?

(This and the two following to be answered by the Professor concerned.)

40. What has the Professor of Ecclesiastical History taught in relation to the practice of Infant Communion as used in the early Church?
41. What has the same Professor taught concerning the heretical character of the Church of Rome?
42. What has the same Professor taught concerning the Constantinople Creed?
43. Is the doctrine of "limited Atonement" and of "Reprobation" taught in the Seminary?

And, as if these were not enough, Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio was unofficially requested by some of the bishops to address a series of supplementary questions to the unfortunate Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Dr. Ogilby. The bishop embraced the opportunity to present an additional twenty-four queries "for the more correct ascertaining of the state of the Seminary." They embraced the Homilies as doctrinal standards; the Real Presence; the General Councils; Private Judgment, and so on. In his reply, Dr. Ogilby scored neatly on the bishop.

Q. McIlvaine. "Are any outward or bodily expressions of reverence towards the communion table, either at the communion, or otherwise, . . . practiced in the Seminary, or inculcated privately or publicly among the students?"

A. Ogilby. "I am sorry to say the Seminary has no 'communion table.'"

It is somewhat surprising that no questions were put about the Episcopate, Justification by Faith, prayers for the departed, confession, absolution, and the Eucharist as a sacrifice. *The Churchman* accounted for these omissions, "since the questions have been constructed on no principle of unity."

Obviously not a few of these questions were inspired by a fear of the Oxford theology accentuated by the excitement caused by the Carey ordination. The Low Church bishops were zealous for the maintenance of the right of private judgment and of the thirty-nine Articles and the Homilies as the standard of doctrine as well as for the integrity of what they called "our glorious Reformation." The High Church bishops were on the lookout for the teaching of the "five

points of Calvinism" with which not a few of the Evangelicals of that day were tainted. Both were concerned over the possible inroads of "the German system of Rationalism," especially as it related to the Old Testament.

It must be confessed that these questions did not meet with large approval. Professor Turner writes in his *Autobiography*:

"I was never more amazed than when reading some of these questions, and occasionally the thought occurred to me that the document could not be genuine. Some of the questions appeared irrelevant; others to imply what was wholly improbable; others, again, to have been proposed simply in order to counterbalance what had been previously admitted, so that one class might neutralize the other. I was hardly able to persuade myself that they could have originated with such a body."²⁶

The Churchman was more severe. It said editorially:

"If the Pope, the Oxford Tracts, and the father of modern neology, and Calvinism had been present in person or in effigy; and if the questions had been elicited from the Right Rev. Fathers by their several fears of each, and had then been shaken in a hat, and drawn out for numerical arrangement, they could not have had less coherence and mutual dependence."²⁷

The answers of the Professors are published in full as an appendix in the *Journal of the General Convention of 1844*.²⁸

In answer to the question "concerning the diligence, piety, and order of the pupils, and the general tone of their manners and behavior," the Faculty gave the students a clean bill of health, though Professor Clement C. Moore somewhat tartly replied, "I cannot pretend to judge of their piety." The men were likewise absolved from "superstitious" practices. As acting Head Professor Turner stated that "no pastoral care is exercised by the Seminary over the students, and no provision is made for it." It was assumed that "all students are supposed to belong to some parish in the city and to be under the pastoral care of its rectors."

With the necessary limitation of a magazine article it is possible only to give a brief analysis of the replies, especially those relating to the doctrinal instructions. Professor Turner obviously resented the questions relating to German Rationalism and expressed surprise that they should have been put in view of his well-known opposition

²⁶*Turner: Autobiography*, pp. 192-93.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 193.

²⁸*Journal*, pp. 234-243, 246-248.

"to the whole system referred to." He adds: "In my instruction to the classes, I have particularly guarded them against the whole theory of Rationalism, most especially as regards the interpretation of prophecy and miracles, considering it as neither more nor less than disguised infidelity."²⁹ Professor Bird Wilson fell back on the record of his twenty-three years teaching in the Seminary, but repudiates the dark doctrine of Calvinism: "As to the 'five points of Calvinism,' " he writes, "no one of them is *taught* by me, as I do not hold them; but the views of both parties are duly examined."³⁰

All the Professors reported that the Oxford Tracts were not used as Text Books in the Seminary. But Bishop Onderdonk replied that:

"Many years ago, when but a portion of the Oxford Tracts had been published, and long before the appearance of Tract 90, in reply to a question proposed to me in one of the classes, I recommended the reading of the Tracts as likely to have an important influence on the theological character of the age, which I thought should be well understood by theological students."³¹

In answer to theological questions, the Bishop stated that he uniformly represented the Church of Rome as in error by her "mutilations of the true faith"; that "she has no scriptural right to jurisdiction in the Church of Christ," and that communion with her is a sin. He expressed the view that the Church is infallible, inasmuch as she has never apostatised, but added: "I did not consider any of its branches infallible, or any of its councils general or provincial." He likewise considered that there were many popular errors in the Roman Church, not essentially growing out of the decrees of Trent, and went on to say "that there are more *apparent* than *real* discrepancies between the decrees of Trent, considered as embracing mere *opinions*, and our standards; but that those decrees, considered as setting forth and enjoining the *faith*, are incompatible with the doctrines of this Church." He taught his students that Holy Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation, and enjoined "primitive catholic tradition as a rule for the right understanding of Scripture."

Professor Ogilby did not regard the Homilies as doctrinal standards, but yet useful as a witness to the mind of the English Reformers. He deemed it "inconsistent" for any clergyman of the Reformed Church to receive the doctrinal decrees of Trent; not that they contain no truths, "but I regard them as artfully contrived to

²⁹*Journal*, 1844, p. 238.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 236.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 234, p. 234.

deceive and beguile the simple and unwary."³² So far from being taught that the Reformation was "useless," Dr. Ogilby reports that "they are taught to regard the English Reformation as a singular instance of God's favor and mercy to His Church; whereby he was pleased to deliver a part of it at least, from a grievous tyranny, and from many corruptions of doctrine and practice; although *some* of the agents, and *some* of the means, instrumental in accomplishing it, cannot escape the severe censure of the impartial historian." In answer to the question as to the teaching of the Seminary concerning the doctrine of the real presence, Dr. Ogilby replies that it is taught in the Liturgy and Articles of the Church, and adds: "I have never presumed to define in any way the *mode* of CHRIST's sacramental presence."

The House of Bishops appears to have held three meetings to consider the replies, the last of which was held at the Seminary on October 31st, when a formal inspection was made. The attendance was neither large nor representative. Those recorded as attending were Bishops Philander Chase, McIlvaine, Doane, Otey, Kemper, McCoskry, Polk, De Lancey, Whittingham, Lee, and Elliott. After an inspection, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved, That the Bishops, as Visitors, having visited the Seminary and inspected the same, do not find in any of its interior arrangements any evidences that superstitious or Romish practices are allowed or encouraged in the Institution.

Resolved, That the Bishops deem the publication of the questions of the Bishops, and the answers of the Professors the most appropriate reply to the current rumours respecting the doctrinal teaching of the Seminary.

Resolved, That the Bishops, as Visitors, would express the conviction that there ought to be established a Pastoral Head to the Seminary, to whom the charge of the Students in their spiritual relations should be especially committed, and that a full service every Sunday should be held, at which the Pastor should officiate, and all the Students required to be present."³³

The last resolution was the only good thing resulting from the investigation. Referring to the "interior arrangements," Professor Turner writes:

"I never heard of the private rooms of the students having been inspected by the Right Reverend Visitors. I presume, therefore, that the 'interior arrangements' mentioned relate to those of the Chapel, Library and Lecture

³²*Journal General Convention, 1844, p. 239.*

³³*Ibid., pp. 188-89.*

rooms. A short time after the 'Episcopal Visitation,' I heard, from a source to be entirely relied on, of its having been said by one student that 'if they had come into his room he could have shown them a crucifix.' It will be evident from what is yet to be narrated in this connection that the inquiries and the visitation were practically of little or no benefit. And indeed this might have been expected from the character of both."³⁴

In 1845 Dr. Sparrow, of Virginia, wrote:

"You have not yet heard of the regular conspiracy in the General Seminary to Romanize the Church. The students had formed a society, secret, with the watchword 'C. U.,' Catholic Unity, and have been in communication with the Romish bishop. They meant to colonize here, that the work might go on simultaneously everywhere. The subject is now before the Faculty in New York, and a committee of three bishops, Lee, Henshaw and De Lancey, have been appointed to investigate the matter. It is curious enough that this should come out after they had, by resolution, just whitewashed the Seminary."³⁵

In the main, Sparrow's statement was correct. The facts are set forth in an official report made to the Trustees by the Faculty in reporting certain acts of discipline and are amplified in Professor Turner's Autobiography, and to a lesser degree in Walworth's book.

From these sources it would appear that just two and a half months after the Episcopal visitation on the basis of information communicated to him by some of the students, Professor Ogilby preferred charges against ——— and ———; subsequently two others were included. It is important to note that the cases were not tried on the ground of theological error—that was a matter for the bishops of the dioceses from which the candidates for orders came. The Report of the Trustees states that:

"They have considered the cases which have been before them only as the conduct of the parties affected the relation in which they stood as students in the Seminary, and not as candidates for orders; in which character they are subject only to the ecclesiastical authority of the proper diocese. The principle on which the Faculty have proceeded is that the students charged have acted contrary to their duties and engagements to this Institution; that they have not merely themselves embraced theological errors, but have promulgated and maintained them within the Seminary; that they held themselves, and instilled into the

³⁴Turner, p. 202.

³⁵Sparrow, p. 159.

minds of other students, principles of a theological system adverse to that of our Church, and to the course of instruction prescribed by the House of Bishops, and the Trustees of the Seminary; that they thus prepossessed their own minds and those of others with error . . . that this conduct tended to create parties among the students with excitement of feeling, thus disturbing the harmony of the Seminary—an effect which had, in part produced, and threatened to increase, unless a check was applied; that it exposed the Institution itself to the imputation of maintaining and instilling erroneous doctrines and encouraging superstitious practices, and thus injured its reputation and usefulness.”³⁶

In his Autobiography Professor Turner states that:

“The evidence showed that there were students whose views in some points were Romish, and whose intention was, after entering upon parochial duties within our Church, to endeavor gradually to lead their congregations along with themselves to the Church of Rome. Wild and fanatical project, with which it were absurd to imagine that the people could have been made to co-operate! Yet so deeply had unsound, jesuitical principles insinuated themselves into the mind, in defiance of morality and commonsense. There is good reason to believe that the principles and tendency were, in *most* cases, brought to the Seminary by students when admitted, and, in *all* others they found a congenial soil, when attempts were made to introduce them.”³⁷

It may be worth while to add that, in the opinion of Professor Turner, “the difficulties may be traced to the natural influence of the Oxford Tracts. . . . It is not to be wondered at,” he wrote, “that men whose views on disputed topics of discipline or doctrine were what is usually known as ultra High-Church, should have eagerly embraced them, and, in many cases, without any clear view of their nature and tendency.”³⁸

The result of the investigation was that on January 13, 1845, two members of the middle class were “directed to withdraw from the Institution.” Two others were admonished “with suitable brevity and characteristic mildness” by the Dean (Dr. Bird Wilson). One of the latter immediately resigned from the Seminary, and addressed a strong letter of protest to *The Churchman*, which was published in the issue of —, 1845. Some time later, however, he was ordained in Brooklyn; the other went to Connecticut, where he was ordained in

³⁶*Proceedings of the Trustees, Vol. II, pp. 429-432.*

³⁷*Turner, pp. 208-9.*

³⁸*Ibid., pp. 209-10.*

due course. One of the expelled men went to North Carolina; the other was removed from the list of candidates for orders in the diocese of Delaware. In so doing, Bishop Alfred Lee said to him: "Young man, my advice to you is: go to Rome, for that is where you belong." Later both were ordained, the one in North Carolina; the other in Maryland.

It is difficult to state how many of the students of this period actually went over to the Church of Rome. Professor Turner mentions three. William Everitt went over about 1850 and for several years was parish priest of the Church of the Nativity, New York; Walworth went in 1845, as did Wadhams, who afterwards became the Roman Bishop of Ogdensburgh, New York. His life was written by Walworth. Two or three others remained in lay communion with Rome.

Such, in outline and no more, is the story of a passing phase in the life of the Seminary.

GROWTH AND PROGRESS SINCE 1860

By William Wilson Manross

POLITENESS, if nothing else, would require that the recent history of any institution should be called "Growth and Progress." In the case of the General Theological Seminary the title is not difficult to justify, for in 1860 the institution was probably at the lowest point in its history. Its endowment, once fairly adequate for the time, had largely been dissipated through bad investment and the use of the principal to pay current expenses. Its faculty was uninspiring, and, in some cases, definitely incompetent. Its standing with the Church was so low that some of the best friends of the Seminary thought it advisable to turn it into a diocesan school, and it was distrusted by the general public because of the suspected loyalty of some of its professors.

The financial difficulties of the Seminary had been developing for some time. In 1829 the institution had been placed in an unfortunate position through a bequest, from Frederick Kohne, of \$100,000, to be paid only after the demise of the testator's widow.¹ She was a long time dying and during the interval the Seminary received nothing from the legacy, while, at the same time, its existence caused a falling off in contributions from the Church at large. By 1850 an annual deficiency of \$5,000 had developed, and the expediency of suspending the work of the institution until its budget could be balanced was seriously considered. The receipt of \$95,000, when the bequest was finally paid, relieved the situation for a time, but the fund was badly invested, and by 1861 it was represented only by fourteen houses in Brooklyn, which were described as "poor property and unsaleable." In the same year the Standing Committee reported that the total amount of money received since the Seminary's foundation was \$236,000, of which \$140,000 had been spent on buildings, and for filling in the land along the Hudson. Some of the remainder had been used for current expenses, and what was left was largely invested in real estate, which, because of political troubles of the time, could neither be sold nor leased upon favorable terms.²

¹*Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, I, 1821-38, N. Y., 1854, p. 303.*

²*Ibid., III, 1855-65, N. Y., 1865, p. 412.*

In the year 1860-61 the deficiency in the Seminary's income was \$27,500, which was \$10,000 more than had been anticipated. It had been met, in part, by the sale of mortgages and bonds, and, in part, by a loan of \$17,000 from the treasurer, but a deficiency of \$30,800 was expected during the ensuing year, and it was estimated that the total income of the institution would be only just enough to pay the fixed charges upon its real estate, leaving nothing whatever for operating expenses.³

In this crisis the Trustees appealed to an old friend of the Seminary, the Society for Promoting Religion and Learning in the State of New York, which promised to aid to the extent of \$1,000 a year for the next few years, the money to be ear-marked for the support of professors.⁴ The Board also adopted an appeal addressed to every trustee, alumnus, and layman, to lend his support to the institution in its hour of need, and at a special meeting in the fall of 1861 it asked the bishops of the Church to make "a Special Appeal to the Clergy and Laity of their respective Dioceses, and to press earnestly upon them the urgent need of the Seminary for instant relief by liberal contributions."⁵ Application for assistance was also made to Trinity Church, but it was refused.⁶

These various appeals brought the Seminary a total of \$4,250.42 in the course of the next year, and this was supplemented by some money received from a successful foreclosure suit and by two special contributions of \$2,000 each, so that, at the annual meeting in June, 1862, the Standing Committee was able to report that all of the charges upon the real estate, including the arrearage, had been paid, and also that they had been able to meet the expenses of keeping the institution open, though it had been necessary to reduce the already rather small salaries of the professors.⁷ At this same meeting the Board adopted a fresh appeal "invoking the liberality of the Churches throughout the land . . . and especially requesting each one of the Trustees and alumni who has the charge of a Parish to make a collection" for the relief of the Seminary.⁸

That the crisis was not over was indicated plainly in 1863 when it appeared that, though the institution had received \$4,202.82 in contributions (including that from the Society for the Promotion of Religion and Learning), its income was still \$8,300 less than the charges on its real estate.⁹ The Board of Trustees, therefore, besides repeat-

³*Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, III, 1855-65, N. Y., 1865, p. 412.*

⁴*Ibid., p. 451.*

⁵*Ibid., p. 466.*

⁶*Ibid., p. 436.*

⁷*Ibid., pp. 493-4.*

⁸*Ibid., p. 516.*

⁹*Ibid., pp. 552-3.*

ing its appeal to the Church at large, asked specifically that every Trustee and alumnus should contribute fifty dollars to save the Seminary from extinction.¹⁰ It also urged its own members to act as subcommittees for raising funds in their respective dioceses, and directed the Standing Committee to appoint special agents for the same work.¹¹

The appeal for fifty-dollar contributions was responded to with more generosity than the earlier calls had been, and in the ensuing year (1863-64) the Standing Committee was able to pay off the arrears in taxes and meet the essential expenses of the institution with only a small deficit. If the contributions were repeated, it was felt that it would be possible to wipe out the deficiency and to pay suitable salaries to the professors.¹² It was evident, however, that if the crisis was not to be constantly repeated, a replenishment of the Seminary's endowment was essential. The two dioceses then located in New York State (New York and Western New York), therefore, appointed delegations to meet with the Standing Committee of the Seminary and confer on means of affording it permanent relief. As a result of this conference, a meeting of laymen was called at the episcopal residence in New York, at which it was determined to raise a fund of \$150,000 for the institution.¹³ The Trustees, at their meeting in June, 1864, approved of this proposal, and also urged the raising of \$8,052 to meet the running expenses for the coming year and pay off the deficiency from the year preceding.¹⁴

Thanks to these measures, though the year 1864-65 still saw a deficiency of \$6,425, it had been possible to pay off the cash debt of the Seminary, which had gone as high as \$65,000 in 1862,¹⁵ and by the spring of 1866 the Standing Committee could report that, "The financial embarrassments under which the Institution has labored for many years have been, in a great measure, relieved."¹⁶ True, only \$13,380 had been raised for the permanent endowment, but, with the close of the Civil War, the real-estate market in New York City had improved, so that it had been possible to sell some of the Seminary's property at a good price and to renew some leases on more favorable terms. The institution was to wait fourteen more years, until the coming of Dean Hoffman, before its condition could be called really prosperous, but the crisis which had threatened its existence had definitely passed. Deficiencies were frequently reported in the

¹⁰*Proceedings, III, p. 577.*

¹¹*Ibid., p. 583.*

¹²*Ibid., p. 601.*

¹³*Ibid., pp. 602-3.*

¹⁴*Ibid., p. 631.*

¹⁵*Ibid., p. 677.*

¹⁶*Ibid., IV, p. 11.*

intervening years, but the Seminary was able to carry on without serious difficulty and even to effect some minor improvements in its physical arrangements.

The inefficiency of the Seminary as a teaching institution was more deeply rooted than its financial difficulties, and was a much longer time in being corrected. It arose, primarily, from the fact that few, if any, of its professors had received any special training for the work they were doing, or had consciously chosen either teaching or scholarship as a career. At the time that the Seminary was founded professional scholars were exceedingly rare in America. A few teachers of science in some of the larger colleges might possibly deserve that designation, but, for the most part, the faculties of all higher institutions of learning were drawn from the ranks of the clergy, and the Seminary simply followed the example of the colleges in calling parochial ministers to its service. Its first professor, the Rev. Samuel H. Turner, had, it is true, devoted most of his life to teaching and study, and enjoyed some eminence as a Biblical scholar. Clement C. Moore, for many years Professor of Hebrew, and the author of the first Hebrew grammar published in America, also had some claim to professional standing, and so had the Rev. John Ogilby, Professor of History from 1841 to 1851, who had been called to the Seminary from the faculty of Rutgers College, but, for the most part, the theological professors were men who had served some time in parochial work (usually not in the largest parishes) and had done, perhaps, a little more reading than their colleagues, so that their friends felt that they deserved to enjoy the quiet retirement of academic life in their maturer years.

In the beginning, as has been said, this practice did not distinguish the Seminary from the other educational institutions of the country. By 1860, however, most of the leading colleges in America had at least begun the transition from amateur to professional scholarship while the Seminary waited until the turn of the century to inaugurate such a change. In 1860 the faculty included, besides Professor Turner, the Rev. Samuel Roosevelt Johnson, who had been called from his missionary work in Indiana to become Professor of Systematic Theology;¹⁷ Dr. Houghton, instructor in Hebrew, about whom we have been able to learn nothing, and who was soon replaced by the Rev. Randall C. Hall, an able language teacher; and the Rev. Milo Mahan, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, a man of considerable intellectual ability, who, however, left the institution in 1864 to return to parochial work. There does not appear to have been any

¹⁷G. F. Seymour, *A Sermon Delivered before the Ninetieth Convention of the Diocese of New York in Memory of Samuel Roosevelt Johnson, D.D., N. Y., 1873, p. 10.*

Professor of Pastoral Theology at this time, but after 1862 the post was filled by the Rev. William Ernest Eigenbrodt, of whom the best that even a friendly critic could find to say was that he was possessed of "exceptionally accomplished and refined manners."¹⁸ Dr. Turner died in 1862 and was replaced by the Rev. Samuel Seabury, who seems to have had some ability as a teacher but who had spent most of his life in parish work, and who continued to serve as Rector of the Church of the Annunciation and also as editor of the *Churchman*, even after he had joined the staff of the Seminary. After Dr. Mahan's resignation, the chair of Ecclesiastical History was filled by the Rev. George Franklin Seymour, an ardent Ritualist, who subsequently became Bishop of Springfield.

The method of instruction was more by means of recitations than by lectures, and some, at least, of the textbooks upon which the recitations were based had been old when the Seminary was founded. Mosheim was still the authority in Church History, though it may be presumed that the Tractarians and Ritualists who taught the subject did not always agree with his interpretation. Paley was still considered the final authority upon the subject of Evidences, and the textbooks for Systematic Theology were Pearson on the Creeds and Bishop Browne on the Articles. In the Department of Pastoral Theology the students spent a year in the study of Gresley's *Treatise on Preaching*, "which any half-way intelligent mind could have read and mastered in three hours," and the sum of the lesson drawn from it was apparently that a sermon should be neither too short, nor too long, but just right.¹⁹

Examination in those days were held orally before a committee of the Trustees and were more a test of the professor than of the students. No student, so far as can be ascertained, ever failed, but the Trustees tended to judge the efficiency of the instructor by the performance of his class, and sometimes, it is to be feared, the teacher was not above priming a favorite student in advance on some difficult question.²⁰

The results of the examinations were reported to the Board by the examining committee, and from these reports we can judge that, even in the friendly eyes of the Trustees, the teaching of the faculty left something to be desired. In 1860, for instance, they complained that Professor Turner's students, in the Middle and Junior classes, were insufficiently acquainted both with the original text and with its interpretation, and inquired, somewhat acidly, "whether . . .

¹⁸T. M. Riley, *A Memorial Biography of the Very Reverend Eugene Augustus Hoffman*, II, N. Y., 1904, p. 610.

¹⁹A. S. Crapsey, *The Last of the Heretics*, Knopf, N. Y., 1924, p. 85.

²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 91-3.

some effective means should not be adopted at once for remedying the deficiency in Greek scholarship, which every year makes itself manifest in a large portion of the Students of the Seminary."²¹ Professor Johnson's classes had not memorized the proof texts for Pearson well enough to quote them readily, and it was objected that there were too many leading questions and too much prompting on the part of the Professor. When the Middle Class was examined in Hebrew, the proficiency in reading the text, in parsing, and in translating, was not equal to what the committee expected.²²

A second reason for the inefficiency of the Seminary at this time, and one which was to be remedied sooner than the lack of professional scholarship, was the absence of any settled head for the institution, the office of Dean being passed around among the professors in rotation. This arrangement not only deprived the Seminary of a fixed administrative policy, but it also caused it to be without any official who could act as a liaison officer between the faculty and the Trustees, so as to promote mutual understanding between the two bodies. The inadequacy of the system had been recognized for some time, but various reasons, of which Churchmanship was probably one, had prevented it from being altered. As long as Professor Turner was alive it would have seemed like an affront to him to have named anyone else as Dean, for he had been with the Seminary from the first, and stood by it through all its early vicissitudes, and was, with the exception of Professor Moore, who was a layman, the most distinguished member of its faculty. Unfortunately, however, he was a Low Churchman with distinct Evangelical leanings, and the High Churchmen who controlled the destinies of the school were probably unwilling to place its management permanently in his hands.

In 1856 the idea had been agitated of calling Bishop Whittingham, of Maryland, who formerly had held the chair of Ecclesiastical History in the Seminary, to act as its president, and the Standing Committee, or some members of it, actually did ask the Bishop informally if he would be willing to accept the post should it be tendered him.²³ Dr. Whittingham said that he would consent to undertake the task only if his appointment should have the sanction of General Convention and if a canon should be passed allowing a Bishop, serving as president of General Seminary, to retain his seat in the House of Bishops. The Trustees apparently were unwilling to meet these conditions and nothing came of the matter at that time. When Professor Mahan resigned his chair in 1864, however, it was suggested by Bishop Coxe, of Western New York, that Whittingham

²¹*Proceedings, III*, p. 317.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 318.

²³W. F. Brand, *Life of William Rollinson Whittingham, II*, N. Y., 1886, p. 50.

should be recalled to the professorship, with an understanding that he would also act as president. The Trustees accepted the proposal to the extent of electing the Bishop of Maryland to the professorship, but they said nothing about the presidency, and as Whittingham believed that his chief usefulness would be in the latter office, he declined.²⁴

The project of obtaining a permanent head for the Seminary was not, however, abandoned. Even before the calling of Bishop Whittingham the Standing Committee, in 1860, had strongly recommended the creation of such an office,²⁵ and when the constitution was revised in 1865 the fifth article provided that: "The Government and Headship of the whole Institution shall be vested in a Dean."²⁶ This clause was not immediately put into effect, but in 1868 nominations for the office were received and the next year the Rev. Theodore B. Lyman was elected. He declined, and at an adjourned meeting in the fall of 1869 the post was offered to the Rev. John Murray Forbes, who accepted.²⁷

Dr. Forbes was born in New York City in 1807 and graduated from Columbia College in 1827 and from General Seminary three years later. After serving for a time as tutor in Trinity College, Hartford, he was called as rector of St. George's Church, Flushing, Long Island. In 1834 he became rector of St. Luke's Church, New York City. He resigned in 1849, having been converted to the Roman Catholic Church. He rose to some eminence in that body, being awarded the degree of Sacred Theology by Pope Pius IX and sent by Archbishop Hughes, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of New York, to organize the American College for Priests in Rome. In 1859 he renounced the Papal obedience on the ground that it required too great a sacrifice of intellectual liberty and returned to the Episcopal Church, being readmitted to our Communion in 1867. He was received back at St. Luke's as an assistant minister and was filling that position when he was called to the Seminary.²⁸

The physical condition of the Seminary in the sixties was such as might be expected, in view of its financial difficulties. Everything—dormitories, classrooms, library, chapel, professorial residences, and the quarters of the janitor—was housed in two buildings: The present "West Building" and the old "East Building," the original Seminary structure, which was torn down under Dean Hoffman. Of the

²⁴W. F. Brand, *Life of William Rollinson Whittingham*, II, N. Y., 1886, pp. 51-8.

²⁵*Proceedings*, III, p. 376.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 748.

²⁷*Ibid.*, IV, pp. 214, 253.

²⁸Mrs. H. C. Tuttle, *History of St. Luke's Church in the City of New York*, N. Y., 1926, pp. 105, 115-7; Riley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 592-5.

classrooms, four were located in the basement, where they received light only from the street side—a situation which continued until the Hoffman era.²⁹ The library was located in a single crowded room in the East Building, and as late as 1873 it was still unprovided with artificial light, so that it could be used only in the daytime.³⁰ The chapel was a plain room on the second floor of the West Building, its only ornaments being a set of “bronzed gas-fixtures, new pine seats adorned with fleur-de-lis, and a single set of green altar and lectern hangings.” Here, the students assembled twice a day for Morning and Evening Prayer and for Communion on festal days. The music was provided by a small pipe organ, which the students took turns in pumping.³¹ There was no refectory until 1866, when Professor Seymour brought about the establishment of one. It was housed in a long, low-ceilinged room, whose natural noisiness gave encouragement to disorder. The meals were furnished by the janitor and his wife, possibly assisted by a committee of students. Park and Tilford also lent their aid by providing sugar, tea, coffee, and other staples at wholesale prices.³²

The politics of the Seminary excited a certain amount of public distrust during the Civil War because of the suspected loyalty of at least two of its professors. Dr. Mahan had been one of the leaders in opposing the adoption of a strong pro-Union resolution at the General Convention of 1862³³ and Dr. Seabury had written a book in defense of slavery which was published just before the outbreak of the war.³⁴ Professor Mahan's resignation in 1864 is attributed by at least one writer to “war troubles.”³⁵ It is true that in 1864 the faculty granted leave of absence to five students to assist in the work of the Sanitary Commission, a semi-official organization which sought to improve the health of the soldiers, but this action was not enough to allay the public distrust entirely.³⁶

The Churchmanship of the Seminary has nearly always been judged by the outsiders on the basis of the theological opinions of its graduates, who are assumed to have been indoctrinated by the faculty, but such a judgment is not always correct. The terms upon which the General Seminary had been merged with the diocesan institution in New York in 1821 had been such as to place it practically under the

²⁹*Proceedings*, V, p. 321.

³⁰*Ibid.*, IV, p. 578.

³¹*Riley*, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 223-4.

³²*Proceedings*, IV, p. 584; *Riley*, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 628-9; *Crapsey*, *op. cit.*, pp. 91.

³³*Church Journal*, N. Y., 1862, X, p. 314.

³⁴Samuel Seabury, *American Slavery Distinguished from the Slavery of English Theorists and Justified by the Law of Nations*, N. Y., 1861.

³⁵*Brand*, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

³⁶*Proceedings*, III, p. 615.

control of that diocese and of Bishop Hobart, who saw to it, as far as possible, that the faculty should reflect his own theological views, though he was unable to get rid of the two members who had come back from New Haven—Professors Turner and Wilson—both of whom were Low Churchmen. During the forties General became a center of Tractarianism, and as such an object of distrust to many Episcopalians, but the movement flourished chiefly among the students. Its only representatives on the faculty were two professors of Church History, Dr. Whittingham and his successor, Dr. Ogilby. With the appointment of Professor Seymour to the same chair in 1865, the Ritualists obtained a representative upon the teaching staff, but until the last quarter of the century the predominant sentiment, of both the faculty and the Trustees, was one of conservative High Churchmanship. In 1867, because of persistent reports that the Seminary was not true to its general character, the committee on examinations thought it best to give some thought to the theological teaching of the institution and satisfied itself that it was "of the plain, straightforward Bishop Hobart School," and that the chapel services were quietly and correctly conducted by the faculty, the students being "left to their own choice as to the manner of worship, only being required to keep within the rubrics"—in other words, that the Seminary was still being run on old-fashioned High Church lines.³⁷

There is abundant evidence, nevertheless, that Anglo-Catholicism was rife among the students, and that the controversies among them sometimes waxed hot and furious. Poor Professor Eigenbrodt frequently was distressed by the efforts of the undergraduates, in their required sermons, "to force out of every possible text . . . exaggerated views of the Holy Sacraments, as if these constituted the whole of theology and of religion . . . to set them forth as materialistic charms" and "to represent the use of the sacred Eucharist in particular as the chief end of the whole Christian life."³⁸ In 1869 two students were converted to the Roman Catholic Church, and in 1871 yet another one submitted to the Pope.³⁹

Professor Seymour, who was not the sort of man to possess his views in silence, in time injected the controversies of the student body into the meetings of the faculty. In 1870 Mr. Calbraith B. Perry, a member of the Senior class, submitted to Professor Eigenbrodt a sermon on the Eucharist in which he said, among other things, "And then He (Christ) deigns . . . to be upon our altars and to be handled by sinful man. As when in helpless infancy He submitted to be wrapped in swaddling clothes, and to be treated by men as

³⁷*Proceedings*, IV, p. 77.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 447; cf. also Crapsey, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88.

³⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 207-8, 440.

they would, whether with respect or disrespect, so now in the Blessed Sacrament, wrapped in the fine linen of the Church . . . He puts himself in the power of men." He also observed that Christ subjects 'himself again, as it were, to the death of the Cross, when He . . . for the trial of the faith of His Church, submits to the scorn of the unbelieving world.'⁴⁰ The Professor submitted this sermon to Dean Forbes, who, in turn, laid it before the faculty. They decided that the sentiments expressed by Mr. Perry were contrary to the teachings of the Episcopal Church and referred the matter to his diocesan, Bishop Clark, of Rhode Island. Seymour dissented from this action and introduced a substitute resolution expressing the opinion that, as the statements contained in the sermon were not alleged to be in conflict with "any article of the Dogmatic Faith of the Church," nor with any canon or decree of the Ecumenical Councils, but related to 'a point of divinity confessedly obscure and in respect to which great latitude of opinion has been and is practically allowed in our Communion,' it was inexpedient to censure it, as such a proceeding would place the students "too strictly on trial in doctrinal points while yet in the formative stage" and stir up controversy in the faculty and the Church at large. As no one seconded this resolution, it failed to appear on the minutes of the faculty, and Seymour, consequently, feared that his negative vote on the measure which was adopted, standing unexplained, would be subject to misconstruction. He, therefore, embodied his proposed resolution in his annual report to the Trustees. This maneuver aroused the ire of his colleagues and they registered a protest against it at a special meeting of the Board, which had assembled in the fall of 1870 to elect an incumbent for the vacant chair of Systematic Divinity. The Trustees declined to render any decision upon the merits of the controversy, but they did pass a resolution expressing their "entire confidence in the Dean and faculty as to the management of the Seminary and the guidance of the Students." Even that seemed too strong to Bishop Whitehouse, of Illinois, a leader of the Anglo-Catholics, and he made an unsuccessful attempt to prevent its being voted upon by introducing a motion to adjourn.⁴¹

In 1871 Seymour presented a pamphlet to the Board containing some criticisms of Dean Forbes, which caused that gentleman to tender his resignation. The Trustees declined to accept it and gave the Dean a vote of confidence, but the next year he insisted upon retiring, and Professor Seymour became Acting Dean. In 1875 he was elected Dean, and served until 1879, when he became Bishop of

⁴⁰*Proceedings, IV, p. 402.*

⁴¹*Ibid., pp. 350, 364, 402-3, 411.*

Springfield. Though he was a strong partisan in his own opinions, Seymour appears to have endeavored conscientiously to make the Seminary as comprehensive as possible. He frequently stressed the ideal in his reports, and he gave expression to it in his selection of special lecturers and preachers. When, for instance, the Seminary year was extended to include the Ember Days, Seymour invited the Rev. John Cotton Smith, of the Church of the Ascension, a noted liberal, to give special instructions on these days, and in 1878 he asked Bishop Huntington, of Central New York, another liberal, to deliver a special series of lectures on preaching.⁴² In his government of the students he was as little authoritarian as possible, holding that self-discipline was the only discipline that was useful for prospective ministers.

While he was still Acting Dean, in 1874, Seymour was elected Bishop of Illinois, and the confirmation of his election was opposed in General Convention on grounds relating to his administration of the Seminary. The controversy which he had stirred up in 1872 had given rise to suspicions that he was sympathetic towards belief in a corporeal presence in the Eucharist and towards the practice of auricular confession, though an investigating committee of the House of Bishops had acquitted him of holding such views. It was also charged by Bishop Coxe, of Western New York, that he had permitted Father Grafton, of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament (later Bishop of Fond du Lac), to present "his peculiar views of the Eucharist" to the students in a private room, and that he had resisted "the noble efforts of his colleagues, such as Drs. Seabury and Vinton," to stem the rising tide of Ritualism among the undergraduates. Seymour denied all these charges, and protested his loyalty to the official teaching of the Church, but some of the Deputies seem to have doubted the honesty of his protestations, and the confirmation of his election was denied.⁴³ This Convention (1874) represented the high point in anti-ritualistic sentiment, coming, as it did, when everyone was frightened by the secession of the founders of the Reformed Episcopal Church, and when there were widespread fears that if Ritualism remained unchecked many other Evangelicals would decide to follow them. When Seymour was chosen Bishop of Springfield six years later the controversial feelings were not so strong and his election was confirmed without opposition.

Partly because of the financial difficulties of the Seminary, and partly because of doubts as to its ability to represent fairly the posi-

⁴²*Proceedings*, V, pp. 99, 171.

⁴³*Journal of the General Convention of 1874*, Hartford, 1875, pp. 33, 67-8, 97; *Daily Churchman*, N. Y., 1874, pp. 196-8; J. W. Suter, *The Life and Letters of William Reed Huntington*, Century, N. Y., 1925, p. 130.

tion of the Church as a whole, there were many people in the sixties and early seventies who thought that the institution might as well give up its claim to be a general seminary and be turned over to the Diocese of New York. The constitution of the Seminary, as adopted in 1821, had given that diocese practical control over its destinies by providing that the Trustees should be apportioned among the several dioceses on the basis of the number of clergymen in them and the amount of their contributions to the endowment. The subsequent growth of the Church, bringing many new dioceses into existence, and the receipt of the Kohne legacy, which was accredited jointly to Pennsylvania and South Carolina, though they had not altogether deprived New York of its dominant position, had considerably weakened it, and some people thought that it should be restored.

In 1859 the General Convention appointed a committee to report to the next Convention on the expediency of separating the Seminary from the control of the whole Church.⁴⁴ The committee failed to report in 1862 because of the war, but in 1865 it recommended strengthening the control of New York by raising the number of clergy and the size of the contribution required for the election of a trustee, and by counting gifts of land as well as money contributions. The reason given for this proposal was that all of the Seminary's endowment, except some of that contributed by New York, had been wasted through bad management. This measure was adopted by the Convention⁴⁵ but the Trustees failed to act upon the amendment because of some irregularities in its transmission. A committee of the Board, earlier in the year, had proposed a more radical measure, which would have placed the Seminary entirely under the control of the dioceses located in the State of New York, and the triennial meeting had proposed a constitution similar in principle to that adopted by General Convention, but owing to technical difficulties, the two bodies failed to agree, and the general character of the Seminary was preserved.⁴⁶

As the school's financial condition gradually improved, the sentiment in favor of changing it into a diocesan institution subsided. The Rev. John Henry Hopkins did propose, in 1876, that the control of the Seminary should be given to the states of New York and New Jersey, but no action was taken on his measure.⁴⁷ Most of the subsequent efforts to change the constitution of the Board were directed chiefly towards reducing its size, which, with the growth of the Church, had become altogether unwieldy. In 1883 the principle of diocesan representation was abandoned almost entirely, and it was provided

⁴⁴*Journal of the General Convention of 1859, N. Y., 1860, p. 94.*

⁴⁵*Journal of the General Convention of 1865, Boston, 1865, pp. 278-302.*

⁴⁶*Proceedings, III, pp. 716, 747; IV, p. 36.*

⁴⁷*Ibid., V, pp. 51-2.*

that the Trustees should include, besides the Dean and all the bishops, fifty others, twenty-five of whom should be elected by certain dioceses on the basis of previous donations and twenty-five by the General Convention.⁴⁸

Contemporaneous with the proposals to separate the Seminary from the control of General Convention, but persisting after those proposals had been abandoned, and gaining strength as the financial condition of the school improved, was the conviction that it should be located somewhere outside of New York City. This subject was already being agitated in 1860, but it appeared at first that there was a legal obstacle in the way. Professor Moore originally had deeded the property upon which the Seminary was built to the Trustees, on the sole condition that it should be used for a theological school to be located within the diocese in which New York City was situated, and had specifically authorized the sale or lease of the property if the interests of the Seminary should dictate such action. In 1833, however, desiring to build a bulkhead on his lots adjoining the Seminary property, he agreed to build one for its use also, on condition that the Trustees should give him a mortgage bond for half of the expense (\$7,320), to become due with compound interest if, and only if, the "Seminary block" should be put to any other use than that of the theological school. The Trustees accepted this offer, and by 1860 the sum that would become due under the agreement amounted to \$40,000. When, in that year, the Standing Committee, acting under instructions from the Board, interviewed Professor Moore with a view to removing the condition, he declined to do so. After the Trustees had resolved to take legal steps to get rid of the incumbrance, however, Professor Moore explained that he had been misunderstood. He had merely desired to prevent the loss of the property to the Seminary and was willing to cancel the bond if the Trustees would, without legally binding their successors, put on record their conviction that the "Seminary block" ought not to be sold.⁴⁹

This condition was complied with and the legal obstacle thus was removed, but because of the unsatisfactory financial situation no further action was taken until 1870, when the Trustees accepted the gift of two lots in Mamaroneck and directed the Standing Committee to move the institution there as soon as it was financially able to do so. It was discovered, however, that the property adjoining the Seminary block could be sold only at a loss, and as the Mamaroneck property was accumulating taxes and other costs, it was returned to the donor. Alternative proposals were made to move the

⁴⁸*Proceedings*, V, pp. 602-3.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, III, pp. 328-9, 348-9, 364-5.

institution to the Columbia campus, and to combine it with the proposed cathedral of the Diocese of New York, but no action was taken on either of them, and the Seminary remained where it was. Dean Seymour was opposed to the idea of removal, holding that long experience showed that the present location "could scarcely be surpassed for salubrity and healthfulness" and that the cosmopolitan character of the city gave encouragement to true catholicity in the institution.⁵⁰

During the administration of Dr. Seymour the Seminary made its first provision for the granting of degrees. Authority to do so had been sought from the state legislature as early as 1868 and had been obtained a few years later, but it was not until 1875 that the Trustees adopted a statute setting forth the conditions upon which degrees would be awarded. The regulations then adopted called for the granting of the titles of Bachelor, Master, and Doctor in Sacred Theology only after the passing of appropriate examinations, but in 1885 the Board began the practice of giving honorary degrees by conferring the doctorate upon all the members of the faculty.

With the coming of the Rev. Eugene Augustus Hoffman as Dean, in 1879, the Seminary entered upon a new era of material prosperity. Some improvement had, indeed, been effected under Dean Seymour. The library was moved into a larger and better lighted room, a new chapel was fitted up, another recitation room was provided, and gas was introduced into the dormitories. A number of monetary contributions also were received, chiefly through the agency of the Dean, which, although they soon were to be eclipsed by the munificent benefactions of the Hoffman family, were more generous than anything the Seminary had received since the Civil War.⁵¹

Dr. Hoffman was born in New York City in 1829, the son of a wealthy merchant of distinguished Dutch ancestry. He had studied at Rutgers and Harvard Colleges, and at General Seminary, and had served successively as rector of Christ Church, Elizabeth, New Jersey; St. Mary's, Burlington, New Jersey; Grace Church, Brooklyn Heights; and St. Mary's, Philadelphia. One of his first acts after taking office as Dean was to call together some representative clergy and laymen, to mature plans for increasing the endowment of the Seminary. It soon became evident that most of the increase was to come from the Hoffman family. In 1881 it was reported that \$106,000 had been raised for the endowment, and, of this amount, the Hoffmans had contributed \$85,000. By 1892 the endowment of the Seminary had risen to \$654,804, and in 1898 it was

⁵⁰*Proceedings*, IV, pp. 345, 377-8, 487, 521, 523, 574, 697; V, 31, 161.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, pp. 576, 578, 659, 667, 668.

\$1,262,345.⁵² Most of the money came from the Dean or his family, but some of it was received from other sources, including \$50,000 from Mr. William H. Vanderbilt for the general endowment, \$10,000 from Miss Susan M. Edson for musical instruction, and \$10,000 from Mr. George A. Jarvis to found the Bishop Paddock Lectures.⁵³

In 1883 Dean Hoffman turned his attention to the formulation of a building program for the Seminary, and, with the aid of Mr. Charles C. Haight, an architect and the son of a former professor of Pastoral Theology, he drafted a plan which is substantially that of the institution today, except that it called for the complete inclosure of the Twenty-first Street side and the connection of the chapel with the buildings on Twentieth Street, so as to form two separate quadrangles within Chelsea Square. The plan was no sooner formulated than the work of carrying it out was begun, with the erection of the first block of buildings, which included Sherred Hall for classrooms, two dormitories, Pintard and Dehon, and the library. There followed the erection of the chapel and the Deanery, which presently were connected with the first block by the completion of the administration building, Jarvis Hall, and two more dormitories, Dodge and Kohne, inclosing the entire northeast end of the campus. In 1892 the old East Building was demolished and replaced by professorial residences. By the close of the century, the northwest end of the Square also had been inclosed by the erection of a refectory, Hoffman Hall; four dormitories, Edson, White, Lorillard, and Eigenbrodt; and two more dwellings for members of the faculty. The Hoffmans paid for the erection of most of these buildings. A few, however, were built by those for whom they were named. Hoffman Hall was the gift of the alumni. Other important gifts also were received by the Seminary during this period, including the chapel chimes, presented by the Dean, the Coppinger Collection of Bibles, believed at that time to be the largest in the world, and a copy of the Gutenberg Bible, the first book printed with movable type.⁵⁴

Another benefaction of the period—if it can be called such in view of the trouble it caused—was the alumni professorship in Christian Evidences. The fund for this professorship had been accumulating for many years, but it was not until 1885 that the amount received had become sufficient for the election of an incumbent. In that year the Rev. George W. Dean was chosen to the post. The terms

⁵²*Journals of General Convention*, 1883, Boston, 1884, p. 524; 1886, Chicago, 1887, p. 626; 1892, Baltimore, 1893, p. 512; 1898, Washington, 1899, p. 481; *Proceedings*, V, p. 361.

⁵³*Proceedings*, V, p. 361; VI, p. 114.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 566, 664-5; VI, pp. 112, 124, 193, 354, 455, 535, 643; VII, pp. 42, 52, 108, 443, 459, 525; *Riley, op. cit.*, II, pp. 622-4.

of the gift were that the occupant of the chair should be nominated by the alumni and confirmed by the Trustees, and should hold office for three years. On the expiration of Professor Dean's term, the alumni twice nominated the Rev. John Henry Hopkins, Jr., to the chair and the Trustees twice refused to confirm their choice. The Rev. Philander K. Cady was then chosen and confirmed.

It seemed, both to the Dean and the Trustees, that a term of three years was not long enough to enable a professor to become so familiar with his duties as to be an efficient teacher, and an agreement was reached between a committee of the Board and one of the alumni that the tenure of office for the professorship should be made permanent. The alumni were unwilling to accept this agreement, and on the expiration of Dr. Cady's term they declined to nominate a permanent incumbent. When the Trustees refused to accept a three-year nomination, the Alumni Association brought suit for the recovery of the fund. The case dragged through the courts for several years, but in 1902 it was finally decided in favor of the Association, whereupon the alumni, after deducting their counsel fees, represented what was left to the Seminary, to found another professorship, without any specification as to tenure.⁵⁵

As a younger generation was called upon to fill posts on the faculty, the character of the Seminary became more definitely Anglo-Catholic. "The Authority of the Church" came to receive more stress in the teaching of the classrooms, and was interpreted less in terms of the specific formularies of our own Communion and more in terms of general Catholic tradition than it had been. The services of the chapel cannot be said ever to have become markedly ritualistic, but a greater formality was introduced into them, and into the life of the institution generally, by Dean Hoffman. The present chapel ceremonial, as well as the ceremonial used upon special occasions, such as matriculation and commencement, was, most of it, arranged under his direction.

In spite of the Seminary's unprecedented prosperity, it is to be feared that there was no commensurate advance in its educational efficiency under the Hoffman regime. With one or two exceptions, the professors were still drawn from the parochial field, and very few of them were distinguished for their scholarship. Professor Eigenbrodt continued to occupy the chair of Pastoral Theology until 1889, and his teaching had not improved with the years. In 1880 the Rev. Leighton Parks, who had suffered under Dr. Eigenbrodt as an undergraduate, introduced a resolution calling upon the Standing Committee to investigate the Department of Pastoral Theology

⁵⁵*Proceedings*, VI, pp. 14, 273, 402, 509, 707; VII, p. 40; VIII, pp. 63-5, 81-2.

and report to the Trustees at their next meeting whether the Department was so conducted as to be "likely to make efficient Parish Priests and good Preachers," but the Committee replied that in view of the Professor's long service and its entire confidence in him such an investigation was unnecessary.⁵⁶

Another professor, whose name has not been ascertained, was so poor that the students themselves petitioned for his removal. Dean Hoffman, indeed, as an Anglo-Catholic of the old school, was not very sympathetic to modern scholarship, which he regarded as savoring too much of rationalism. Students who chanced to visit Cambridge might hear strange things, for there it was boldly asserted that Moses had not written the Pentateuch, and that Assyrian inscriptions were "more reliable for determining chronology than the Bible," but of these wild notions no hint was heard in General, where the Professor of Biblical Learning was suspected of abstracting his lectures from Maclear's *Sunday School Bible History*.⁵⁷

Dr. Richey, who taught Ecclesiastical History, was an honorable exception to the prevailing inefficiency. Though he was too much of a partisan to be a really objective scholar, he did have the instincts of a teacher, and his helpfulness, both within the classroom and outside of it, was gratefully remembered even by those who were far from sharing his pronouncedly ritualistic views. Moreover, the period did see a gradual shift from the recitation to the lecture method of instruction, accompanied by an increased emphasis upon the written as opposed to the public oral examinations which eventually led to the discontinuance of the latter.

Some compensation for the inadequacy of the faculty may also have been provided by the frequent introduction of outside lecturers, which was one of the features of Dean Hoffman's administration. The Bishop Paddock Lectures were then given annually, but they were used chiefly to bring bishops to the Seminary. The only one of the earlier lecturers who had any particular claim to distinction as a scholar was Professor W. D. Wilson, of Cornell, who delivered the second series. Other speakers, however, appeared at the Seminary from time to time, and among them were some men of real distinction, including Phillips Brooks, Professor Moses Coit Tyler, the greatest authority of his day upon the subject of American literature, and William M. Evarts, Secretary of State under President Hayes, who was regarded by many as the most brilliant lawyer in the United States.⁵⁸

⁵⁶*Proceedings*, V, pp. 337-8.

⁵⁷J. H. Melish, *Frank Spencer Spalding, Man and Bishop*, Macmillan, N. Y., 1917, pp. 35-41; Riley, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 655, 791.

⁵⁸*Proceedings*, V, pp. 493, 623-6; VI, p. 49.

The improvement in the physical environment of the institution did result in better discipline among the students. In the refectory, especially, the change from the crowded and noisy "long room" to the spaciousness and dignity of Hoffmān Hall had a decidedly beneficial effect upon the manners of the undergraduates. Serious disorder, which had been common under the old conditions, now became almost unknown. This improvement in behavior was also fostered by the lessening of the difference in theological opinions between faculty and students. As the teachers showed themselves less anxious to suppress ritualistic views among their pupils, the latter felt less under the necessity of showing off their ritualism, and the disorders which had resulted in times past from their efforts to do so became less and less frequent. Later on, as the new century advanced, the tradition that rowdiness was the proper behavior for students began to disappear from the colleges, and this change had a beneficial effect upon the conduct of Seminarians.

Interest in missions among the students was fairly high under Dean Hoffman, and in 1888 the undergraduates took the lead in organizing the Church Students Missionary Society, with branches in eleven theological seminaries and colleges. It continued to flourish for some time, holding annual conventions "for the purpose of invoking God's Holy Spirit on our Church and Ministry, and especially on Missions."⁵⁹

Dean Hoffman died in 1903 and was succeeded by the Rev. Wilford Lash Robbins, under whom the Seminary at last began to develop something of the intellectual leadership for which the munificent endowments of the Hoffmans had prepared it. From the start, Dean Robbins took a stand for the representation of widely different schools of thought upon the faculty, and for the maintenance of a high level of scholarship in its members. With the calling of the Rev. Charles Carroll Edmunds as Professor of New Testament in 1906, and the Rev. Loring Woart Batten as Professor of Old Testament in 1908, the new science of higher criticism at last received a hearing within the Seminary. The choice of Professor Batten was also the first example of the policy of calling men to General who had had experience on the faculties of other seminaries, which marked an important step in the professionalization of theological scholarship within the Church. He had been one of the earliest champions of higher criticism in the Episcopal Church and had served as Professor of Old Testament in the Philadelphia Divinity School. This policy was followed again in 1913 when the Rev. Francis Joseph Hall was called from Western Seminary to become Professor of Dog-

⁵⁹*Proceedings*, VI, p. 274.

matic Theology in General. The appointment of the Rev. Charles Norman Shepard as Professor of Hebrew and Cognate Languages in 1906 foreshadowed another method of professionalization, the development of mature scholars by the Seminary itself, for Dr. Shepard had been on the staff of General ever since his graduation. Though the Churchmanship of the institution continued to be predominantly Anglo-Catholic, as was indicated, among other things, by the introduction of the daily Eucharist, the sincerity of Dr. Robbins' desire to make it representative of varying schools of theology was shown in the calling of Dr. Batten, and in the unsuccessful effort to secure the services of Dr. Slattery, rector of Grace Church, as Professor of Ecclesiastical History.⁶⁰

Failing health compelled the resignation of Dean Robbins in 1916, and the Rev. Hughell E. W. Fosbroke, who had had wide experience as a teacher of Old Testament in Nashotah and Cambridge, was called to succeed him. Under Dean Fosbroke the policy of maintaining a high professional standing for members of the faculty was carried out yet more thoroughly by the calling of the Rev. Burton Scott Easton, formerly of the faculties of Nashotah and Western, as Professor of New Testament in 1919; the Rev. Frank Gavin, of Nashotah, as Professor of Ecclesiastical History in 1923; the Rev. Leonard Hodgson, Dean of Divinity in Magdalen College, Oxford, as Professor of Apologetics in 1925; and the Rev. Marshall Bowyer Stewart, of Western and Nashotah, who had formerly been an instructor in History and Greek in General, as Professor of Dogmatics in 1929.⁶¹

With the advice and assistance of Professor Hodgson, a tutorial system was inaugurated in the fall of 1926, adapted from that in use in English universities. The tutors supervised the reading of the students in the required courses during their first two years, giving an hour a week to the hearing of papers and discussion with individual students in the Junior year and with pairs of students in the Middle year. The system served to coordinate in the student's mind the things learned in the different departments, to provide a greater opportunity for discussion than is possible in the classroom, to deal with individual problems that might not be resolved by more general teaching, and to secure a greater attention to supplementary reading than is generally obtainable when such reading is left to the conscience of the student. It also provided a means for training younger scholars in theological subjects, an essential function if the professional standard is to be maintained.

⁶⁰*Proceedings*, VIII, pp. 99, 454, 620, 650; IX, pp. 87, 410.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, X, p. 494; XI, pp. 255, 457.

The resignation of Professor Hodgson in 1931 left the philosophical branch of the faculty seriously weakened in respect to numbers, for no successor was appointed to his chair, and the subject of Apologetics had to be taught by visiting or part-time professors, who, though they were all capable men, were not able to give the variety of instruction and advice that would be expected from the regular head of a department. The chair in Ethics had been vacant even longer. For a time the subject was taught by an instructor, but after his resignation Professor Stewart had to add the teaching of Ethics to his other duties.

In 1923 the experiment was tried of providing clinical training in the field of pastoral theology, by combining in the person of the Rev. Thomas S. Cline the professorship in that department with the rectorship of St. Peter's Church, which had been founded by and long associated with the Seminary. Senior students in Pastoral Theology were to be employed in various capacities in the work of St. Peter's, under the direction of the professor-rector, and to utilize the experience thus obtained for the interpretation and application of the instruction received in the classroom.⁶²

The plan worked well enough for a time, but friction soon developed between the parish and the Seminary, and this, combined with lack of funds, caused it to be abandoned. It was then determined to place all of the outside work of the students under the supervision of an instructor, and the Rev. Frederic Curtiss Lauderburn, of the staff of Berkeley Divinity School, who had had a long and varied pastoral experience, was called for that purpose. Thus, the employment of the undergraduates in various parishes and missions in and about New York City, which had had its origin in economic necessity and for many years had been regarded as an evil, was given a definite place in the educational process. In 1930 Mr. Lauderburn was appointed Chaplain, a post the creation of which had been discussed since before the Civil War. Under the leadership of Professor Howard Chandler Robbins, who was called to the chair of Pastoral Theology in 1929, the work of the department was expanded by the inclusion of a variety of special courses, some of them given by the Professor or Mr. Lauderburn, and some by special lecturers from outside. These courses not only covered many special aspects of parish work, but also included subjects not strictly theological, but having an important bearing upon the work of a Priest, such as psychiatry and rural sociology. In the required Senior course, the practical teaching of pastoral technique was supplemented by a term's instruction in

⁶²*Proceedings, XI, p. 442.*

the methods of modern social work, given by teachers of recognized standing in that field.

In his report to the Trustees in 1918, Dean Fosbroke pointed out the importance of distinguishing between the work of preparing men for the "practical ministry" and that of "conserving and promoting theological scholarship in the more formal sense of the term." While holding that the former must be the primary task of the Seminary, he expressed the opinion that when men of distinctly scholarly bent were discovered, they should, without being exempted from the general preparation, be encouraged to take more advanced and highly specialized courses as well.⁶³ This proposal was to some extent carried out by increasing the variety of elective courses offered in the various departments, and by the use of the seminar method in the teaching of many of these electives.

The World War had little effect upon the life of the Seminary, except in temporarily decreasing the number of students and increasing the apparent seriousness of those remaining, but the greatly increased scale of prices which resulted caused the school's once ample endowment to become barely adequate for its needs. In 1925, when economic conditions had begun to improve after the primary post-war depression, a campaign was inaugurated to raise funds for further building and for the increase of the Seminary's endowment. Though \$37,050 had been pledged before the campaign was started, it progressed slowly until 1928-29, when Professor Batten, who served as Acting Dean during Dr. Fosbroke's sabbatical leave of absence, gave it his energetic direction, and secured pledges for most of the amount sought. The results of his work were partly defeated by the coming of another depression, but it did lead to the erection of one new building—Seabury Hall—and the introduction of central heating into all of the buildings.

The number of students enrolled in the institution increased during the late twenties and early thirties until it reached a total of 177 in 1932, but it underwent a marked decline in the years following. In spite of this decline and of the prevailing financial stringency, the student Missionary Society embarked upon a new venture in the organization of an associate mission at Hays, Kansas, which was to be supported entirely by the Society. It was manned by two young graduates under the direction of an older alumnus, and was distinctly successful from the start. As hard times made it impossible for the "Seminary family" to support the mission entirely from its own resources, the practice was begun of giving an annual play to raise money for the enterprise.

⁶³*Proceedings, X, pp. 376-7.*

With the coming of the new generation of scholars to the Seminary, its predominant theological position underwent a further change, moving from conservative Anglo-Catholicism to what, for want of a better term, must be called "liberal orthodoxy." The transition was not outwardly so striking as some of the earlier changes had been, for the new spirit was conciliatory rather than aggressive, but in its ultimate implications the alteration was probably more profound. There was observable, in the younger professors, a more whole-hearted acceptance of the results of modern critical scholarship, and a tendency, in the fields affected, to found religious beliefs upon those results, rather than to admit them as partly digested intrusions into a system of belief already formulated. Accompanying this was a greater readiness to recognize the possibility that the Church would have to recast its thought upon some important matters, so as to bring itself more into harmony with the apparently permanent changes in the mental outlook of the modern world.

The new point of view showed itself most clearly in the teaching of the Bible. Biblical interpretation can hardly be said to have been a science before the coming of Higher Criticism. As long as the Scriptures were regarded as verbally inspired, instruction in them was restricted to drilling the students in the text and interpreting obscure passages. In the latter work a varying amount of erudition and ingenuity might be shown, but the critical analysis of the evidence and subsequent systematization of results which are the essential features of a true science were not possible. Under the new order of things, the Seminary teaching constantly endeavored to give equal emphasis to both of these processes. The analysis of the Scriptural documents was carried through with ruthless thoroughness, but the effort was always made to proceed from analysis to synthesis, and to leave the student possessed of whatever positive results the existing state of the science made possible.

In the philosophical field the prevailing situation made the task of presenting Christianity in a form acceptable to modern minds much more difficult. In the United States and England, Theism was represented philosophically by two schools. One of these had grown out of Pragmatism, and though its adherents professed to have rejected that system and to have returned to the Idealistic tradition, they based their acceptance of Idealism upon a pragmatic appeal to values, rather than upon any attempt at logical demonstration. The other school drew its arguments from some of the most recent theories of Physics which the layman found it difficult to understand. To some who attempted to understand it, it looked suspiciously like an elaborate form of the old fallacy of building religious belief upon the

gaps in science. On the Continent there was a third school of Theism, stemming from Kierkegaard and Barth, which took the form of neo-Calvinism and was definitely anti-rationalistic in character. All three schools represented a rear-guard action with respect to the general trend of modern thought and, whatever merits they may have possessed, they did not have sufficient contact with the philosophical ideas of the average educated man to be useful in interpreting Christianity to him. However, all that could be done was done by Seminary teachers to meet modern demands without sacrificing what was believed to be vital in the heritage of the past.

The greater emphasis placed upon outside work, the organization of the Associate Mission, and the broadening of the curriculum, all served to lessen the aloofness of the Seminary from the life of the Church and the community, for which it had frequently been criticized. There was also evident an increased interest in social and economic questions among the students which, though it can scarcely be said to have kept pace with the growing interest in such subjects outside of the Seminary, did result in the organization of a Guild for Christian Social Action, affiliated with the Church League for Industrial Democracy, and in some occasional socio-political activity of a mildly radical sort.

THE LIBRARY AND AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

By Charles Mampoteng, M.A.

AN abundance of valuable source material for the study of American Church History is to be found in the Library of the General Theological Seminary, where more than ninety-six thousand volumes are available. It is of interest to note that in 1930 the Library numbered eighty-six thousand two hundred and ninety-two volumes among its collections, while in less than six years, some ten thousand items have been added. Operating under the handicap of reduced appropriations, the small library staff, supervised by the Rev. Burton S. Easton, S.T.D., has nevertheless managed to accomplish much in the way of providing easy access to an enormous store of literature. Progress has been made in the recataloguing, while the task of cutting up old volumes of indiscriminately bound pamphlets¹ and rebinding individual items patiently continues. Some conception of the labor involved may be gained from the intelligence that the Library possesses more than ten thousand pamphlets touching the history of the American Episcopal Church alone.

In an attempt to emphasize the importance and scope of these pamphlets, ranging through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, extensive lists have recently been arranged for publication² under the guidance of the author. For various reasons, the writings of bishops of the American Church were accorded first consideration, and these bibliographies will appear in forthcoming numbers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. The works of Bishop John Henry Hobart are noticed in this present issue. The publications of Bishops White, Hobart, G. W. Doane, Meade, Benjamin and Henry Onderdonk and Henry Codman Potter are representative of the truly formidable collection of sermons and controversial material available. To complement the printed works of the prelates, a catalogue of manuscripts in the library has also been prepared. Although single items characterize

¹*The Seminarian*, 1934," pp. 73. 74.

²The research incidental to this compilation was undertaken by workers of the Historical Records Survey Division of the Works Progress Administration. The same unit was employed in assembling the periodical list found at the end of this paper, as well as in cataloguing the manuscript collection in the Library.

these bishops' manuscripts,³ there are occasional bits of interest, such as the letter of Bishop George Upfold of Indiana. Dated November 5, 1855, the communication treats of inquiries to be made at the land office in Indianapolis concerning two tracts of land for which the bishop held warrants procured through military service in 1814.

There are twenty-four manuscripts in the Bishop William Meade folder, including an oration probably delivered during college days on the moral and social advantages of the education of women. Bishop Meade occasionally drew heated retorts from indignant gentlemen like Warner Washington, who had been censured for playing cards. Resenting the criticism of such an innocent amusement, the old man, in a letter of June 25, 1810, charged Meade "you turn from the Holy Table making yourself my judge." Of much importance in the manuscript correspondence of the Rev. Oliver S. Prescott are the many letters from various bishops. Ordained by Bishop Levi S. Ives in 1848, Prescott received a confidential letter dated May 18, 1849, from Ives giving instructions relative to the ordinand's arrival in Henderson and counseling patience, prudence and silence concerning the vows of celibacy, since "the most innocent expressions are tortured into revelations of popish plots." Other bishops corresponding with Prescott were: Arthur C. A. Hall (11), William R. Whittingham (9), Isaac Nicholson (10), of which six letters during 1888 treated with the selection of a successor to Bishop Brown of Fond du Lac. Bishop Edward Welles of Milwaukee wrote Prescott on October 20, 1887, of the cordial relations between bishops and their dioceses in the west, in refutation of the eastern misconception. As a shining example he dwells on the life of the Rev. James DeKoven and the veneration in which both people and bishops of Wisconsin and Illinois held him. There are six Prescott letters from Bishop John Williams of Connecticut, along with a formal transfer of Prescott to the bishop's jurisdiction in 1894. Bishop George Seymour on October 25, 1887, addressed Prescott from the Church Congress at which he had heard Phillips Brooks repudiate apostolic succession and the historic episcopate "alas for Boston."

Concerning the contemporary agitation to prohibit the manufacture of wine and spirits, Bishop Seymour refused to sanction such measures, but did record his willingness in August, 1894, to urge legislation imposing "wholesome restraints," such as abolishing the saloons. Among other bishops whose papers are to be found in the Library are: Bishops William C. Doane (6), Henry Codman Potter (9),

³*Prominent among the bishops and the manuscripts on hand are: Bishops White (1), DeLancey (1), Odenheimer (2), Hopkins (2), Greer (1), Cicero Hawks (1), Horatio Potter (2), Littlejohn (2), Benjamin B. Smith (1), Whipple (1), Scarborough (1), William Webb (1), Pinckney (2), Kerfoot (2), etc.*

Hobart (7), Charles Penick (4), Richard C. Moore (9), Alonzo Potter (3), Frederick Kinsman (3), Jackson Kemper (3), Seymour (8), Southgate (3), McLaren (5), Thomas M. Clark (3), etc. Mention must also be made of the manuscript sermons in the Library collection, such as that of Bishop Seabury, 1795; one of Bishop Hobart's, 1814; those of Bishop Carlton Chase, 1840-1852; two by Bishop Griswold and two by Bishop Welles. The latter preached one of the sermons on January 4, 1861, a fast day, at Red Wing, Minnesota, then a frontier town. The Library possesses miscellaneous manuscript notes, diary for 1857, and thirteen manuscript sermons of the Rev. Benjamin Haight. Correspondence for the years 1834-1840 of the Rev. Joseph Passmore are also available, in addition to a manuscript life of the Rev. John Hall⁴ written by his grandson.

Although not particularly strong on source materials covering the Anglican Church in colonial America, the Library does have the manuscript diary, 1775-1785, kept by the Rev. Thomas B. Chandler while in London. It will be recalled that Chandler was deeply concerned with the efforts to establish a resident bishop in the colonies. He wrote many pamphlets, of which the Library has a number. Chandler was bishop-elect of Nova Scotia but refused the appointment, whereupon the Rev. Charles Inglis, war-time rector of Trinity Church, New York, was consecrated to that diocese. The Library owns a typewritten copy of Bishop Inglis' "Journal of Occurrences," commencing at 1785 and continuing till the year of his death—a valuable source for ecclesiastical development in Nova Scotia. A scattering of printed sermons by colonial clergymen are available, while as to manuscript sermons there is the 1762 work of the elder Rev. Samuel Seabury. In addition, the Library has a manuscript list of Anglican parishes in America as of 1730.

When in 1792 Bishop Seabury joined Bishops White, Provoost and Madison in consecrating Dr. Claggett, the Scotch and English episcopal successions were united to create an American succession. Seabury, ordained in the English Church, received consecration in Scotland in 1784 as Bishop of Connecticut. The Seminary Library possesses the original letters of ordination of Seabury as deacon and priest, the diploma for his doctorate awarded in 1777 by Oxford University, his letter of consecration and a later certificate he himself granted as bishop. At the time of his consecration the Scotch Bishops entered into a concordate with Seabury, wherein he pledged to fashion the doctrine and discipline of his infant church upon the Scotch model, insofar as it proved practicable. Two such documents were signed, the one retained by the consecrating bishops and the other

⁴*Historical Magazine*, 4:308-313.

held by Seabury—this second document hangs in the treasure room of the Library, wherein are stored priceless Latin Bibles, ancient breviaries, an Eliot Indian Bible, etc. Bishop Hobart, ordained priest in 1801 by Bishop Provoost, was in a large measure responsible for “reviving” a faltering church, which had barely weathered the storm of the American Revolution. His ordination certificate can be found in the Library, along with an address he delivered to the Oneida Indians in July, 1826.

Under date of November 2, 1910, the Bishop of Wyoming, Nathaniel Thomas, addressed the Librarian of the Seminary, offering to send the “Wyoming Churchman” regularly to the Library. He was convinced that diocesan and district papers would be the basis of much future history. The Library includes a wide range and type of periodical in its collections, but at the moment our concern is with those of historical and biographical importance. To the exclusion of those papers devoted especially to theological discussion, a list of desired periodicals has been culled from the imposing array available. The items have been divided under three classifications, i. e., general, diocesan, and local publications. Place of publication, inclusive dates of numbers and specific items are indicated.

EPISCOPAL CHURCH PERIODICALS AVAILABLE AT THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY LIBRARY

I. GENERAL

- American Church Monthly, New York—1857-1858. V. 1-3 preceded by “The True Catholic.”
- American Church Monthly, New York—1917 to date.
- American Churchman, Chicago—1866-1871. V. 5 #37 to V. 10, #12, ceased publication June 22, 1871, and consolidated with “The Churchman.”
- American Literary Churchman, Baltimore—1881-1885, V. 1-5.
- Anglican Theological Review, New York—1918 to date.
- Banner of the Cross, Philadelphia—1839-1861. V. 1-22 discontinued 1853, resumed 1854, but discontinued 1861; lack issues of February 13, 1841, October 28, 1858, January 31, 1861.
- Cathedral Age, Washington, D. C.—1925 to date.
- Christian Observer, Boston—1802-1874, V. 1-75.
- Christian Register and Moral and Theological Review, New York—July, 1816, to January, 1817.
- Christian Times, New York—1862-1866. V. 1-6 continued as “The Episcopalian.”
- Christian Union Quarterly, Baltimore—1919-1932, V. 9-22.
- Chronicle, Poughkeepsie—1910 to date.
- Chronicle of the Church, New Haven—1837-1840. V. 1-4 continued as “Practical Christian and Church Chronicle.”
- Church and State, New York—1872-1875. Lacks 6/8, 10, 24, 47, 7/13, 9/25 and all of V. 9 after #30.
- Church Defense, New York—1899-1900, 1/1-12.

- Church Eclectic, Utica—1873-1908, V. 1-41.
- Church Journal, New York—1853-1878. V. 1-26 united in 1873 with "Gospel Messenger" and continued as "Christian Journal and Gospel Messenger" till February 14, 1878; no more published.
- Church Magazine, Philadelphia—1886-1887. V. 1-4 merged into "The Churchman."
- Church Monthly, Boston—1861-1870, V. 1-17.
- Church News and Forum, San Francisco—1889-1890. V. 1-4 united with "Pacific Churchman."
- Church Press, New York—1884-1888. V. 1 to 4/53 ceased publication April, 1888; lack February 18, 1885, to October 9, 1886; December 24, 1887, to February 11, 1888.
- Church Review, New Haven (1848-1861), New York (1862-1891). V. 1-60, 63; title varies; 1848, "Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register"; 1858, "American Quarterly Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register"; 1868, "American Quarterly Church Review"; 1872, "Church Review"; 1889, "Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register."
- Church Standard, Cleveland—1892-1908. V. 63-94 continuation of "Standard of the Cross."
- Churchman, New York and Hartford—Old series, 1831-1861. Ceased publication May 2, 1861. Lack July 22, 1837; March 1, 8, 1851; November 31, 1859. New series, 1867 to date. Lack January 25 to February 15 and February 29 to March 14 and June 4, 1868.
- Churchman's Magazine, New Haven—1804-1811, V. 1-8; new series, 1813-1815, V. 1-3; new series, 1821-1827, V. 1-5. Publication suspended during 1812, 1816, 1820, 1824.
- Cowley, Cambridge—1928 to date.
- Crozer Quarterly, Chester, Pa.—1924-1934, V. 1-9, 11.
- Domestic Missionary, New York—1869-1870, V. 1/1-24, but lack #2, 20-23.
- Ecclesiastical Review, Philadelphia—1908 to date, V. 39 to date.
- Episcopal Recorder, Philadelphia—1831-1880, incomplete V. 9-43, 53-58. United with "Christian Times" 1866 and became "The Episcopalian" but ceased publication 1875 to resume as "Episcopal Recorder."
- Episcopal Register, Philadelphia—1880-1884, V. 11-15, but issues May to November, 1884, defective.
- Episcopalian, New York and Philadelphia—1866-1875. V. 1-9 continuation of "Christian Times."
- Evangelical Catholic, New York—1851-1853, V. 1-2/51.
- Evangelical Guardian and Review, New York—1817-1819, V. 1-2.
- Evergreen, New Haven—1844-1853, V. 1-10.
- Forensic Quarterly, Sewanee—1909-1910, V. 1.
- Gospel Advocate, Boston—1821-1826. V. 1-6 united with "Episcopal Watchman."
- Gospel Messenger and Christian Episcopal Register, Charleston—1824-1853, V. 1-29.
- Guardian, New York and Baltimore—1879-1883. V. 1-4 very incomplete.
- Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Garrison and New Brunswick—1932 to date.
- Holy Cross Magazine, West Park—1890 to date.
- Holy Cross Tracts, West Park—1915-1918, V. 1-3; 4/1-4.
- Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal, New York—1828-1834, V. 1-6.
- Layman's Magazine, Martinsburg, Va.—1815-1816, V. 1/1-16, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25-33, 35-38, 41-51.

- Literary and Theological Review, New York and Boston—1834-1839, V. 1-6.
- Living Church, Chicago and Milwaukee—1878 to date.
- Living Church Annual and Churchman's Almanac, Chicago and Milwaukee—1882 to date. In 1909 absorbed "Whittaker Church Almanac"; 1922 absorbed "Churchman's Year Book" and "American Church Almanac."
- Messenger of Society of St. John the Evangelist, Boston—1918-1924 incomplete; January, 1918, to October, 1920; February and April, 1921, to April, 1922; July and September, 1922; January to March, August, October, 1923; March, 1924.
- Mission News, New York—1891-1928. Incomplete V. 3-5; 6/1-6; 7/1-6, 8-12; V. 8-36; 37/3; 38/4 Nos.; 39/2 Nos.
- Missionary Record of Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia—1883-1885, V. 1-3.
- Nazareth Chronicle, Verbank, N. Y.—1895-1905. Incomplete 3/1, 2, 6, 10, 12; 4/3, 4, 7, 9-13; 5/2-12; V. 6-11; 12/1, 5-7, 10, 11; 13/4, 6-13.
- New York Review, New York—1837-1842, V. 1-10.
- Our Church Work, Buffalo—1890-1902. Incomplete V. 4-15; 16/1-11; 17/1-6; then V. 10-15/8; 15/11, 12; 16/1-22.
- Pacific Churchman, San Francisco—1891-1925, 1929, 1931 to date.
- Practical Christian and Church Chronicle, New Haven—1841-1844, V. 5-8.
- Protestant Churchman, New York—1843-1861, V. 1-19/31; lack 5/10, 13-16, 18, 45, 47, 50. Continued as "Christian Times." New York—January 13 to December 29, 1870.
- Protestant Episcopal Quarterly Review and Church Register, New York—1854-1860, V. 1, 4, 6, 7.
- Protestant Episcopal Review, formerly Virginia Seminary Magazine—1892-1900, V. 6-13.
- Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register, Philadelphia—1830-1837, V. 1-4, 8.
- Pulpit Reporter, New York—December, 1849, to June, 1850.
- Register, Philadelphia—1853. Successor to "Banner of the Cross."
- Register of American Church Missionary Society, New York—1873-1878, V. 9/9 to 14/3.
- St. Andrew's Cross, Boston and Philadelphia—1886-1926, V. 1-36, 38-41.
- Southern Churchman, Richmond—1868-1886, 1889 to date.
- Southern Episcopalian, Charleston—1854-1855 (V. 1), 1858-1859 (V. 5).
- Southern Missioner, Laurenceville—1896-1930. Incomplete 7/12; 8/3-8, 10, 12; 9/1-12; 10/1, 8, 10, 12; 11/1-11; 12/1-9, 11; 13/1-7, 9, 10; 14/4, 7, 9, 11; 15/1 3, 5, 9, 10, 12; 16/1-12; V. 17-31; 32/8-12; 33/1-12; 34/1-7, 11, 12; 35/1-5, 8-12; 36/1-12; 37/1-12; V. 39-40.
- Southern Pulpit, Richmond—1881-1884. V. 1-4 incomplete.
- Spirit of Missions, New York—1836 to date.
- Standard of the Cross, Cleveland—1868-1891. V. 4, 6-8, 11-19 preceded by "Gambier Observer" and continued as "Church Standard."
- True Catholic, Baltimore—1843-1853, V. 1-10; second series, 1853-1856, V. 1.
- Virginia Seminary Magazine, Alexandria—1887-1892. V. 1-5 succeeded by "Protestant Episcopal Review."
- Witness, Hobart, Indiana and Chicago—1919-1933, 1934 to date, V. 1-16, 18 to date.
- Young Churchman, Milwaukee—1921-1931, V. 1-11.
- Young Churchman's Miscellany, New York—1846-1847, V. 1-2.

II. DIOCESAN

- Alabama Churchman, Birmingham—1923-1928, V. 1-4; lacks V. 4 #6.
- Alaskan Churchman, Fairbanks—1906-1925, V. 1-19.
- Albany Church Record, Albany—1903-1909. Incomplete V. 9, #8, 12; 10/5, 9-13; 11/2-12; 12/1-12; 13/1-3, 5-12; 14/1-5, 7-12; 15/1-2; V. 16-25; 26/1-5. Prior to June, 1906, was known as "Diocese of Albany."
- Albany Churchman, Chatham—1926-1929. Incomplete: 1/9; 2/1-9; 3/1-10; 4/1-8.
- Arizona Mission, Phoenix—1911-1922. Incomplete: 21/2-4; V. 22-23; 24/1; 24/3 to 25/2; V. 28 to 32/2.
- Associate Mission for the Pacific Coast, Fairbault—Easter, 1867 (No. 1); no more published.
- Bethlehem Churchman—1911-1918, 1922-1927. Incomplete: 2/24 to 44; 3/2, 3; 4/6-12; V. 5 to 7/6; 8/1; 2/4-10; 3/1, 3-5.
- Bishop's Letter of Diocese of Kentucky, Louisville—1895-1929. Incomplete: V. 4 to 6; 22/7-12; V. 23 to 28/9; 34/3-4; V. 35-36; 37/1-4, 6-8; V. 39; 40/1-5.
- Carolina Churchman, Raleigh—1909-1931, V. 1 to 16/6; 19/9.
- Cathedral Chimes, Quincy—1909-1911. Incomplete: 6/1; 8/8.
- Church in Georgia, Atlanta—1892-1903. Incomplete: 1/1 to 7/7; 7/9-12; V. 8-9; 10/1-51; 11/1-24.
- Church Chronicle of Southern Ohio—1896-1914. Incomplete: 17/11, 12; 18/1-12; 19/1-5, 7-12; 20/1-11; 21/1-9, 11, 12; 22/1-12; 23/1-4, 6-12; 24/1-7, 9-12; 25/1-12; 26/1; V. 30-35; 36/1.
- Church Helper in Western Michigan, Grand Rapids—1880-1929. Incomplete: 1/3, 5, 7, 10-12; 2/5, 6, 10-14; 3/1-12; V. 4-19; 20/1-6, 9-12; V. 21-23; 24/1-12; 25/1-12; V. 26-46; 47/1-5.
- Church Herald of Florida, St. Augustine and Pensacola—1914-1919. Incomplete: 3/4-12; V. 4 to 8/7.
- Church Life of Ohio, Cleveland—1910-1917. Incomplete: 23/7-12; 24 to 30/4.
- Church Messenger of Western New York, Utica—1914-1929. Incomplete: 36/2-10; V. 37-42; 43/2-11; V. 44-47; 53/2-12; V. 101-102; 103/1-5.
- Church Militant, Boston—1898-1929. Incomplete: V. 1/1 to 28/9; V. 29-31; 32/1-5.
- Church Militant, Washington, D. C.—1898-1905. Incomplete: V. 1-3; 4/1-6, 11, 12; 5/1, 3-7, 10-12; 6/1, 3-7, 10, 11; 7/1, 2, 4, 6-8, 12; 8/2, 3.
- Church News of Diocese of Mississippi, Brandon—1914-1920.
- Church News of Diocese of Missouri, St. Louis—1897-1924, V. 27-55.
- Church News of Diocese of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia—1912-1929. Incomplete: 1/1 to 14/5; 16/1-8; 17/1-8.
- Church News of Diocese of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh. Incomplete: 9/12; V. 10 to 19; 20/1, 2, 4-10; 21/1-12; 22/1-4, 6-12; V. 23-48.
- Church News of Western Texas, San Antonio—1910-1918; 1926-1929. Incomplete: V. 1-28; 36/3-12; V. 37-38; 39/1-4.
- Church News of West Virginia, Wheeling—1910-1929. Incomplete: 34/11, 12; V. 35-47; 48/5-12; then start again as V. 19—V. 19 to 21/9; V. 41-43; 44/1-5.
- Churchman and Church Messenger of Southern California, Los Angeles—1890-1918. Incomplete: 3/10, 11; 9/1-6; V. 10-11; 12/1-4; 13/1-5; V. 16-21; 24/3, 5; V. 25-30.
- Churchman's Repository for Eastern Diocese, Boston—July to December, 1820.
- Colorado Churchman, Denver—1906-1916. Incomplete: V. 1-7; 8/1, 2, 11; V. 9 to 10/4.
- Connecticut Churchman, Hartford and Waterbury—1906-1925.

- Connecticut Evangelical Magazine, Hartford—July, 1800, to June, 1805; July, 1806, to June, 1807.
- Crozier, Omaha—1900-1919. Incomplete: 1/1; 2/2-6, 9-12; V. 13-19; 20/1, 4-10, 12.
- Crozier, South Omaha—1902-1911. V. 3-12 lacks January, February, 1905; January, 1908.
- Delaware Churchman, Middletown—1900-1910. Incomplete: 7/3-10; 8/1-3; 9/4-10; 11-17.
- Diocesan Journal, Petersburg, Va.—1909-1913. Incomplete: 16/3-11; V. 17 to 19/9.
- Diocesan News, Lexington—1902-1925. V. 20-23 lacks 22/1, 3; 23/16.
- Diocesan Record, Atlanta—1921-1925, V. 1/2 to 5/2.
- Diocesan Record, Barrington, R. I.—1904-1925, V. 3-19.
- Diocese, Sumter, S. C.—1909-1926. Incomplete: 17/9-12; V. 18; 19/1-6, 9-12; V. 20-33.
- Diocese of Chicago, Chicago—1885-1921. Incomplete: 1/1-3, 6-10; V. 2-6; 7/3-12; V. 8-27; 28/1-11; V. 29-32; 34/1-10.
- Diocese of Erie—1915-1926, V. 1 to 10/8.
- Diocese of Fond du Lac—1895-1901, V. 13-19/10.
- Diocese of Georgia, Americus—1916-17.
- Diocese of Louisiana, New Orleans—1897-1929. Incomplete: 2/1, 5-12; 3/1-12; 4/2-12; 5/1-9; 6/1-12; 7/1-10, 12; V. 8-33.
- Diocese of Nebraska, Omaha—1889-1897. Incomplete: 1/6, 8-10, 12; 2/1-12; 3/1-10; 4/1-12; V. 5 to 9/6.
- Diocese of New Jersey, Trenton—1912-1920. Incomplete: 1/1-5; 2/1-6; 3/1-5; V. 4 to 9/3.
- Diocese of Springfield—1890-1905. Incomplete: V. 1-7; 8/1-4, 6-12; V. 9-16.
- District of Salina Watchman—1904-1916. Incomplete: 1/1; V. 2 to 6/9; 6/11, 12; V. 7 to 13/9.
- Duluth Churchman—1904-1920. Incomplete: 1/1-8, 10, 12; 2/1-11; 3/1-3, 5-12; V. 4; 5/1, 3-12; V. 6-9; 10/2-14; V. 11-16.
- Eastern Shore Churchman, Easton—1922-1925. Incomplete: V. 1-3; 4/1-12; 5/1-6, 9-12.
- Gospel Messenger, Auburn and Utica—1827-1841, V. 1-14; 1849-1863, V. 23-36; Utica, 1881-1925. Incomplete: V. 6-18; 19/2-12; V. 20-41; 42/1, 2; V. 43-50; 51/1-3, 5-12; 52/1-12.
- Harrisburg Churchman, Newport, Pa.—1905-1911. Incomplete: 12/1-11; 13/1-10; 14/11; 15/1-9, 11, 12; 16/1-11; 17/2, 3, 5, 12; 18/1-11.
- Iowa Churchman, Davenport—1908-1911. Incomplete 33/12 to 35/9.
- Kansas Churchman, Topeka—1912-1916. Incomplete: 38/8, 9; 39/1-11; 40/3-11; V. 41; 42/1-6, 8, 10.
- Kearney Churchman—1910-1916, V. 1 to 8/8.
- Kentucky Church Chronicle, Louisville—1882-1887, V. 6-11.
- Maryland Churchman, Baltimore. Incomplete: 11/11, 12; V. 12-23; 24/1-10; V. 29-32; 33/1, 3-6; 34/2-4, 6-9; 35/1-9; V. 36-42; 43/1-8.
- Michigan Churchman, Detroit—1897-1928. Incomplete: 2/6-12; 8/1-9, 10, 12; 9/2-12; 12/1-7, 9-12; 13/1-12; V. 14 to 28/8; 29/1-9.
- Minnesota Missionary and Church Record, St. Paul—1878-1926. Incomplete: 2/2; 3/1; 5/5, 9, 11; 6/2, 3, 5-9, 11; 7/2, 3; 8/3-7, 9, 12; 9/3, 5-9, 12; 10/3, 4; 11/1, 2-9, 11, 12; 12/1-10; 13/1-10, 12; 14/2-11; 15/5, 6, 9, 10; 16/4, 6, 9, 10; 17/3, 5, 10, 12; 18/1-8; 19/1-11; 20/12; 21/1-6, 8-12; 22/1-7, 9-12; 23/1-10; V. 24-41; 45/7-12; 46/1-12; 47/1-12; 48/1-5; 49/5.

- Mission Herald of East Carolina, Wilmington—1911-1925. Incomplete: V. 25/7 to 27/12; 28/1-10; V. 29-37; 38/1-6, 9-12; 39/1-12.
- Mission Monitor, Omaha—1897-1901. Incomplete: 2/2-6, 8-12; 3/1-10; 4/1-5, 8, 9; 5/1-12; 6/1-4.
- Missionary, Burlington, N. J.—1834-1837, V. 1-3.
- Missions in Georgia, Savannah—1910-1916. Incomplete: 1/1-11; V. 2 to 7/5.
- Montana Churchman, Helena—1909-1920. Incomplete: 26/7-12; V. 27-45/9.
- Monumental Messenger, Richmond—1895-1925. Incomplete: 5/1 to 8/10; :2, 5, 8-10; V. 10-11; 12/1-3, 5-9; 13/2-13; V. 14-17; 18/2-10; V. 19-30; 31/2-8; 32/1-4, 6-8; 34/1-7; 35/1-4, 6-8.
- Mountain Echo, Rutland, Vt.—1894-1930. Incomplete: 1/4-52; 14/1-4; V. 15 to 27.
- Nevada Churchman, Reno—1908-1912. Ceased publication December, 1912.
- New Mexico and Arizona Mission, El Paso—1896-1910. Incomplete: 4/4; 5/2-4; 6/2-4; V. 7-19.
- Newark Churchman—1921-1927, V. 15/4 to 21.
- North Dakota Sheaf, Fargo—1902-1929. Incomplete: 1/1 to 19/9; start again as V. 15-19; 20/1, 2.
- Olympia Churchman—1893-1898. Incomplete: 2/2, 4 to 10; 3/1-5.
- Oregon Churchman, Portland—1910-1925, V. 2-16.
- Oregon Trail Churchman, Baker—1924-1927, V. 1-4.
- Our Diocesan Fellowship, Buffalo—1921-1925, V. 1-5/9; V. 6-9.
- Palm Branch, Orlando, Fla.—1899-1929. Incomplete: 5/11, 12; 6/1-12; 9/2-12; 10/1-12; V. 11-15; 17/1-3; V. 18-27/8; 27/10-12; 28/1-12; 29/1-12; 30/1-12.
- Pastoral Staff, Springfield, Mass.—1912-1928, V. 1 to 17/1.
- Seattle Churchman—1900-1925, 7 V.
- South Dakota Churchman, Mitchell—1913-1929, V. 1-17.
- Springfield Churchman—1906-1925, V. 17-34; 35/1, 6-11.
- Texas Churchman, Austin—1909-1925. Incomplete: 4/2-12; 5/1-6; 6/1-12; 7/1-12; 8/1-12; 19/1-9, 11, 12; 20/3, 4, 11; 21/1/3, 5-7; 22/1-9; 23/1; 24/1-10; 29/1.
- Western Churchman, Denver—1884-1886. Incomplete: V. 1 to 2/6.
- Western Colorado Evangel, Grand Junction—1912-1918, V. 1-5; 6/1-3; 7/2, 4-11.
- Western Episcopalian, Gambier—1858-1867. Old Series, 15/45; New Series, 8/7-12, 15-20.
- Western Nebraska Churchman, Hastings—1917-1928. Incomplete: 8/9-12; V. 9 to 25/7.
- Wyoming Churchman, Laramie—1910-1925. Incomplete: 1/1; 14/4; 16/5-12; V. 17-18; 19/1.
- Wyoming and Idaho Mission, Laramie—1896-1898. Incomplete: 9/10-12; 10/1-10, 12; 11/1-3, 5-10.

III. LOCAL

- Advocate of Peace, Boston—1898 to date. Lacks Vol. 63, #9; 70/8; 80/1, 8.
- Alaskan Crossbearer, Fairbanks—1906-1908. Incomplete: 1/1, 4 to 2/1; 3/4, 5; 4/1.
- American Catholic, San Diego—1907-1910. V. 1-10 ceased publication January, 1917.
- Angelus, Chicago—1897-1904. Incomplete: 5/1, 4-12; V. 6 to 12/7.
- Antiphon, Bridgeport—1896-1897. Incomplete: 2/4-12; 3/2-4.
- Arrow, New York (Church of St. Mary the Virgin)—1891-1899. Incomplete: V. 1-4; 5/1, 2, 4-12; V. 6 to 8/3.

- Ascension News, Philadelphia—1897-1902. Incomplete: 10/1-6; 11/10; 12/2, 3; 13/7; 14/1, 2, 4-10; 15/2, 4-7.
- Ave, New York (Church of St. Mary the Virgin)—1931 to date.
- Balance, Hudson, N. Y.—1807-1808 (V. 6-7); New Series, Albany, 1811. V. 1 called Balance and State Journal; lack #52.
- Banner of the Church, Boston—1831-1832, V. 1-2.
- Bible in New York—1908-1928, V. 1-20.
- Calendar, Hartford—1845-1865, V. 1/2 to 21/47.
- Calvary Evangel, New York—1896-1930. Incomplete: 9/1-8; 10/1-8; 11/1-8; 12/1-8; 13/1-4, 6-8; 14/3, 4; 15/7, 8; 16/1-4; 17/1-7; 18/1-7; 19/1, 2, 4-7; 20/1-7; 21/1-8; 31/6-10; 32/1-10; 33/1-3; 34/4-9; 35/1-8; V. 36; 40/1, 3; V. 42/10 to 45/6.
- Christ Church Chronicle, Elizabeth, N. J.—1891-1914, V. 1-23.
- Christ Church Chronicle, Meadville, Pa.—1892-1896, V. 7-10.
- Christ Church Message, Indianapolis—1896-1897, V. 1/1-10.
- Christ Church Messenger, Ridgewood, N. J.—1911-1916. Incomplete: 1/1-5; 2/1; 3/1; 5/1, 3, 4; 6/1.
- Christian Herald and Seaman's Magazine, New York—1816-1822, V. 1-8.
- Christian Library, New York—1834-1835, V. 1-2.
- Christian's Magazine, New York—1806-1811, V. 1-4; no more published.
- Christian Witness, Boston—1835-1863, V. 1-28, but lack February 12, 1847; March 30, 1855; January 27, 1854; December 27, 1844. In March, 1841, became Christian Witness and Church Advocate.
- Church, Boston—1896-1899, V. 1-7.
- Church Advocate, Baltimore—1907-1913.
- Church Chronicle, Indianapolis—1899-1910, V. 1 to 12/7.
- Church Chronicle and Record, New Haven—1843-1844, V. 7-8.
- Church Fly Leaf, Concord, N. H.—1890-1920. Incomplete: 1/4; 2/4; V. 3-25; 26/1-3; 27/1, 3, 4; V. 28 to 30/6.
- Church Herald, Charleston—1916-1927. Very incomplete V. 3-14.
- Church Journal, New York—1853, 1 V.
- Church Messenger, Charlotte, N. C.—1881-1885. V. 3/28 to 7/29.
- Church Monthly Magazine, New York—1879-1880.
- Church News, Fort Edward, N. Y.—1882-1883, V. 1/1-12.
- Church News, Rochester—1909-1910, V. 1/1-9.
- Church Notes, New York—1895-1898. Incomplete: 1/3, 5-8, 10-12; 2/1-12; 3/1-12; 4/1-5, 9, 10.
- Church Outlook, Antigo, Wis.—1913-1917, V. 1 to 4/2.
- Church Record, Baltimore—1914-1917. Incomplete: 19/1-5; 20/5, 6; 21/1-9.
- Church Record, Flushing—1841, 1 V.
- Church Record, Montgomery, Ala.—1898-1916.
- Church Record, New York—1868-1869, V. 1.
- Church Record, Southport, Conn.—1885-1890, V. 1 to 6/1 but lacking 5/21.
- Church Register, Philadelphia—1826-1829, V. 1-4 but lacks 4/39.
- Church Review, New York—January 7, 1889, only issue.
- Church Times, Milwaukee—1896-1903. Incomplete: 6/7-12; 7/1-4, 6-12; 14/1-11; V. 15 to 37 (V. 8-13).
- Church Weekly, New York—1870-1871, 1 V.
- Church Work, New York—1885-1889, V. 1-4.
- Church Worker, Indianapolis—1890-1898, V. 7 to 15/2.
- Churchman's Monthly Magazine, New York—1854-1858, V. 1-5.
- Community Churchman, Butler, Ind.—1926-1929, V. 6-10.

- Crisis, New York—March 10, 1870; an occasional paper issued with "Protestant Churchman."
- Detroit Churchman—1887-1902, 1904-1906, V. 3-7, 10-11.
- Eagle, New London, Wis.—1909-1910. Incomplete: 1/2, 5, 12; 2/1-8.
- Epiphany (Church of), Chicago—1899-1908. Incomplete: 7/6-9, 11, 12; V. 8; 9/1, 2, 4, 7-12; 10/1-6, 9, 10, 12; 11/1-9, 11, 12; 12/1-5, 7-12; 13/2, 4-12; 14/1, 4, 7-9, 11, 12; 15/1-7, 9-12; 16/1-6, 11, 12; 17/1.
- Episcopal Magazine, Philadelphia—1820-1821, V. 1-2.
- Episcopal Observer, Boston—1845-1846, V. 1 to 2/4.
- Evangelist, Cincinnati—1900-1907. Incomplete: 1/2-4; 2/5-12; 3/1-11; 4/1, 3, 5, 7-11; 5/1-3, 5, 8-12; 6/1-12; 7/1-12.
- Gethsemane Parish Visitor, Minneapolis—1901-1908. Incomplete: 8/15, 40; 11/50-52; 12/1-52; 13/1-53; 14/2-52; 15/1-6.
- Glad Tidings, Elizabeth, N. J. (Grace Church)—1899-1903, V. 8 to 12/10.
- Good Shepherd News, Rosemont, Pa.—1920-1923. Incomplete: 8/6, 10; 9/1, 9; 10/1, 10; 11/5.
- Grace Church Chimes, Jamaica, N. Y.—1897-1898. Incomplete: 1/10; 2/1-10.
- Grace Church Gleaner, Galesburg, Ill.—July to December, 1912, 1/9, 10; 2/1, 2.
- Grace Church Record, Baltimore—1896-1913. Incomplete: 1/3, 4; 2/2-5; 3/1, 3, 4; V. 4 to 6/7; 7/1, 3-6; 8/1, 2, 4-8; V. 9 to 18.
- Grace Church Record, Colorado—1907-1925, V. 8 to 10/12; 11/1-4, 6-12.
- Grace Church Record, Port Huron—1897-1904. Incomplete: V. 3-4; 5/1-9, 11, 12; V. 6-7; 8/1-6, 8-12; V. 9 to 10/11.
- Great Commission, New York—1911-1913, V. 1 to 2/7.
- Guardian of Michigan City, Fort Wayne—1909-1911. Incomplete: 3/5-7, 9-12; 4/1-12.
- Guardian and Monitor, New Haven—1819-1820, V. 1-2.
- Holy Trinity Church Record, New York—1893-1900. Incomplete: 1/1-5; 2/1-8; V. 3 to 8/7.
- Indianapolis Churchman—1912-1916. Incomplete: 1/1-4; 2/1-9; 3/1-4; 4/1-4; 5/1, 2.
- Jamaica Churchman—1909-1917. Incomplete: 6/3, 4; V. 7 to 14/1.
- Leaflet, Newark—1901-1906, V. 1 to 6/2.
- Lookout, New York—1910-1914, 4 V.
- Messenger, Boston—1909-1917.
- Messenger, Bridgehampton, N. Y.—1909-1913. Incomplete: 1/1, 2, 4-6; 2/2-9; 3/1-10; 4/1-10; 5/1-5.
- Messenger, Elkhart, Ind.—1909-1910, V. 2/1-10.
- Messenger, New York (St. Michael's Church)—1895-1925. Incomplete: 10/1-4, 6, 10; 11/1-9; 12/2-9; V. 13 to 16; 17/1-3, 5, 8; 18/1-7; 25/5-9; V. 26 to 40/8.
- Messenger, Rockford, Ill.—1897, V. 1/1-3, 9, 10.
- Motto, Jubilee College—1848-1852, V. 1/4-12; 2/1-7.
- Nashville Churchman—1896-1897, V. 1/1-9, 12; 2/1, 2.
- Parish Messenger, Duluth—1897-1902. Incomplete: 4/1-12; 5/1, 3, 5-12; 6/1-12; 7/1-12; 8/1-3, 12; 9/1-3.
- Parish Messenger, Elizabeth, N. J. (Grace Church)—1897-1898. Incomplete: 6/2-10; 7/1-10.
- Parish Messenger, Philadelphia—1897-1913. Incomplete: 4/9, 10; 5/2-10; 7/1-5; 8/3-10; V. 9 to 17/5.
- Parish Monthly, Chicago—1897-1913. Incomplete: 2/9, 10; V. 3-14; 15/1-11; 16/2-12; V. 17 to 18/5.

- Parish News, New York—1907-1924. Incomplete: 3/2, 8-10; 4/1, 2, 4; 11/1; 14/3; 15/3; 16/4.
- Parish Record, Charleston (Grace Church)—1902-1903. Incomplete: 8/5, 6, 8-12; 9/3.
- Parish Record, Nashville—1893-1895, V. 1 to 2/10.
- Parish Record, Summit, N. J.—1894-1913, V. 1 to 20/1.
- Pro-Cathedral Record, New York—1896-1898. Incomplete: 1/13, 14; 2/3; 4/9.
- Pulpit of the Cross, Omaha—1896-1899. Incomplete: 2/10, 11; V. 3-4; 5/1-4, 6, 8, 9-12; 6/1, 2.
- Quarterly Message, New York—1893-1900, V. 1-7.
- Record, Brooklyn (St. Ann's Church)—1896-1917. Incomplete: 18/7-9; V. 19-34; 35/1-8; 36/2-9; V. 37-38; 39/1-7.
- Record, La Grange, Ill. (Emmanuel Church)—1896-1901. Incomplete: 5/1-4; 6/3; 7/1-4; 8/1-4; 10/2.
- Richmond Churchman—1896-1901. Incomplete: 1/2, 6-8, 10; V. 2 to 5/10.
- St. Andrew's Call, Fort Worth—1913-1916. Incomplete: 5/12; V. 6 to 8.
- St. Andrew's Chronicle, New York—1897-1899. Incomplete: 10/7, 8; 11/1-8; 12/1-3, 5; 13/1, 2.
- St. Andrew's Parish Visitor, Yonkers—1908-1912. Incomplete: 10/112; 15/163.
- St. Augustine's Record, Raleigh—1895-1929, V. 1-34.
- St. Barnabas Chronicle, Troy—1884-1887, Numbers 1-36.
- St. Barnabas Visitor, Brooklyn—1898-1899, V. 1/1, 7-9.
- St. Chrysostom's Magazine, New York—1873-1874, V. 1 to 2/4.
- St. John's Messenger, New York—1895-1898. Incomplete: 2/6-12; V. 3 to 5.
- St. John's Monthly, Cleveland—1908-1910, V. 1-2.
- St. Luke's Churchman, Scranton—1897-1911, V. 17/2 to 33/5, then ceased publication.
- St. Luke's Herald, Lebanon, Pa.—1911-1914. Incomplete: 3/1-6, 11, 12; 4/3.
- St. Luke's Parish Leaflet, San Francisco—1897-1899. Incomplete: 9/4-7, 9-12; 10/1, 2, 4-12; 11/1.
- St. Martin's Cloak, Brooklyn—1897-1903. Incomplete: 2/6-12; V. 3 to 9/3.
- St. Paul's Church, Hoboken—1912-1913. Incomplete: 1/1-8; 2/1, 3.
- St. Paul's Parish Messenger, Duluth—1902-1916. Incomplete: 9/5-11; 10/1-12; 11/2, 4-12; 113/1-12; 14/1-12; 15/1-12; 17/1-4, 6-12; V. 18-24.
- St. Peter's Church, New York—1907-1924. Incomplete: 2/1, 3, 4; V. 3-4; 5/4; 6/1-4; 7/1-4; 8/1; 16/3-6; 17/1-6; 18/4.
- St. Peter's Parish Index, Chicago—1897-1900. Incomplete: 8/4, 6, 7, 10, 12; V. 9; 10/8, 9; 11/2, 7.
- St. Stephen's, Providence—1897-1913, V. 13 to 28/2.
- St. Stephen's Parish Monthly Messenger, Terra Haute—1897-1899. Incomplete; 1/1, 4, 6, 10; 3/6, 10.
- Sheltering Arms, New York—1891-1900. Incomplete: 24/17; 29/1-12; V. 30-33/10.
- Sign, Chicago (St. Bartholomew's Church)—1913-1915. Incomplete: 3/3, 4; 5/5-7.
- Sign of the Cross, Waterville, Conn.—1907-1910. Incomplete: 4/4-10; 5/1-3; 6/5, 6, 9-10; 7/1-3.
- Silent Churchman, New York—1905-1906. Incomplete: 1/8, 10-12; 2/6, 7.
- Spokane Churchman—1900-1903. Incomplete: 1/1, 3-10; 2/1-8; 3/1-8, 10.
- Sword and Shield, Danville, N. Y. (St. Peter's Parish)—1891-1911. Incomplete; 1/9, 10, 12; 2/2-6, 8; also 2/1-3, 5, 7, 8, 10-12; 3/2-8, 10, 12; 4/2, 4-12; 5/1, 2, 4-12; V. 6-7; 8/2-12; V. 9-19; 20/1-9.

- Trinity Church Record, Bayonne—1897-1905. Incomplete: 1/1-10; 2/1-7, 9-11; 3/1-11; 4/1-5, 7-9; V. 5-7; 8/1-4, 6-11.
- Trinity Parish Annals, Wilmington, Del.—1905-1913, V. 1-8.
- Trinity Parish Churchman, Milford, Mass.—1895-1899, V. 1 to 5/2.
- Trinity Parish Year Book and Register, New York—1875 to date.
- Trinity Record, New York—1888-1897. Incomplete: V. 1; 3/2-6; 9/3, 5, 7.
- Vineyard, Taunton, Mass. (St. Thomas' Parish)—1896-1907, V. 1-8; 10/2.
- Visitor, Baltimore—1897-1902. Incomplete: 6/46-50; 7/51-63; 8/64-72; 9/73-76; 10/77-87.
- Visitor, Evanston, Ill. (St. Luke's Church)—1911-1930. Incomplete: 7/4-9; 9/9; V. 12-26.
- Watchman, New Haven—March, 1819, only number published.

DEANS AND PROFESSORS

By Milo H. Gates

WHILE the honor of making the first motion in the General Convention for the founding of a General Theological Seminary for the whole Church belongs to the Deputies of South Carolina and, especially, to Bishop Dehon of that diocese, whose resolutions were adopted and, as Dr. Johnson quaintly recalls, "In the City of New York, in Trinity Church, on Tuesday, the 27th of May, 1817, in the morning, the General Theological Seminary was born," the real honor belongs to Bishop Hobart and the credit for its location here, of course, is due to Clement Clark Moore, who offered, through Bishop Hobart, sixty lots—the block now bounded by Ninth and Tenth Avenues and Twentieth and Twenty-first Streets—on condition that the Theological School building should be erected thereon. This was in February, 1819.

The resolutions relating to the establishment of professorships are interesting. These were in "Biblical Learning," "Systematic Theology" and "Historic Theology," which meant the "Constitution of the Christian Church, of the Orders of the Ministry and of the Nature and Duty of Christian Unity." This last, so far as I can learn, was the first attempt to consider seriously the great subject of Unity. There were other Professorships proposed—"The Ritual of the Church and of Pulpit Eloquence." This latter was to include "the duties of the Clerical Office."

Among these resolutions, it was proposed "that, when the funds of the Institution admit, the Reverend Charles H. Wharton, D.D., be appointed Professor of Systematic Theology, and that the Reverend Samuel F. Jarvis be now appointed Professor of Biblical Learning, and the Reverend Samuel H. Turner, Professor of Historic Theology; and that these two last-named Professors receive for the present, and until they can be detached from parochial cares and devoted solely to the objects of the Institution, a salary of eight hundred dollars per annum." Later, Professor Jarvis assumed the duties of two other Professors and then his salary was fixed at two thousand five hundred dollars per annum, with a house when it could be erected. In the meantime, he was to receive five hundred dollars for his rent.

The Professor of Historic Theology, Dr. Turner, also had his salary raised to one thousand dollars, and the Trustees optimistically added that "when the funds of the Institution admit," a "more adequate remuneration" would ensue.

"But, notwithstanding all that was done by the friends of the movement, there does not appear to have been much interest awakened on its behalf. When its work actually began on May 1, 1819, there was no publication of its opening, no inaugural address delivered, no religious service held, and but six students composed its first class. Among these, however, were George Washington Doane (the second Bishop of New Jersey), Manton Eastburn (afterwards Bishop of Massachusetts), and Benjamin Dorr (the well-known Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia). The Rev. Drs. Turner and Jarvis were the only Professors. They met the students in a small apartment over the vestry-room of St. Paul's chapel, which was then at the northeast corner of the building, until the approach of cold weather compelled them to seek a room in which they could have fire. Then they removed to the vestry-room of St. John's chapel, which, like that at St. Paul's, was contiguous to the chancel, and on the northeast corner of the building. St. John's chapel was then frequently opened for prayers during the week, and, being in a retired part of the city, was a very suitable place for the purpose. There they remained until one day they found the doors locked, and were informed by the sexton that they would not be allowed to continue to use the room unless the professors would supply the fuel necessary to warm it—so little was the importance of the Seminary then appreciated. In this trait, Mr. Lawson Carter, one of the students, who kept a school for young ladies in the second story of a house on the northeast corner of Broadway and Cedar Streets, offered them the use of his room in the afternoon. It is to this room Bishop G. W. Doane alludes when he says: 'I was one of those who studied and recited, when the whole Seminary was accommodated in a second-story room over a saddler's shop down town.*' The offer was gratefully accepted, and there they remained during the winter of 1819-20, and until the Seminary was removed to New Haven."

"But, whatever may have been the cause, whether 'from some defect in the plan, or from objections to the location, or from other causes, the Seminary languished in New York,' and, there seeming to be no probability of procuring for it sufficient funds for its support, the General Convention, in 1820, determined to remove it to New Haven, and to reorganize it on a different plan. The chief motive for this removal, as stated by the committee who reported in its favor,

**Life and Writings of Bishop Doane, I., p. 29.*

was the lack of funds to sustain the institution in 'so expensive a city' as New York, 'at least for the present, and while its funds were so limited.' In New Haven, the 'professors and students could have access to public libraries, enjoy the benefits resulting from literary society, and live comfortably at a moderate expense.' At the same time the management of the Seminary was vested in a board of trustees, consisting of the bishops and twelve clergymen and twelve laymen, to be appointed by the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies at the triennial meetings of the General Convention."

"On the 13th of September, 1820, the Seminary was opened in New Haven, with an inaugural discourse delivered in Trinity Church by the Rev. Samuel H. Turner, 'Professor of Historic Theology,' as he was then styled. The Rev. Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Turner being the only Professor, Bishop Brownell tendered his services gratuitously and removed his residence to New Haven, that he might devote to the seminary such portions of his time as were not occupied by his Episcopal duties. Fourteen students entered the first term, and seven more before the close of the first year. Among them were Robert Croes, Manton Eastburn, William L. Johnson, Samuel R. Johnson, Henry M. Mason, William Shelton, and Frederick Schroeder—all of whom afterwards filled honorable positions in the Church. The first public examination was held in Trinity Church, New Haven, in July, 1821. At the annual meeting, held in New Haven, in July, 1821, a subscription was started for the support of a 'Professor of Systematic Theology,' and the Rev. Bird Wilson was appointed to the chair."

Meanwhile, Bishop Hobart, dissatisfied because the Seminary had removed to New Haven, himself took steps to found Diocesan Seminaries. Two were established—one in New York and the other in Geneva. These were to be associated with each other and the students could pursue their studies at either branch and transfer from one to the other.

"The New York school was opened in May, 1821, with the following professors: The Rt. Rev. John Henry Hobart, D. D., Professor of Systematic Divinity and Pastoral Theology; Mr. Clement C. Moore, Professor of Biblical Learning and Interpretation of Scripture; Mr. Gulian C. Verplanck, Professor of the Evidences of Revealed Religion and of Moral Science in its relation to Theology; the Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, Professor of the Nature, Ministry and Polity of the Church and of Ecclesiastical History.

"The branch school at Geneva was opened in the vestry school-house of Trinity Church, Geneva, in June of the same year, by the Rev. Daniel McDonald, Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Scrip-

ure Interpretation, and the Rev. Orin Clark, Professor of Systematic Theology."

But in 1821 Jacob Sherred, a vestryman of Trinity Church, died and willed \$60,000 for a Seminary to be established in New York by the Diocesan or General Convention. Both the New Haven Seminary and the New York Seminary claimed the legacy and, after much discussion, the Convention removed the General Seminary back from New Haven to New York, united it with the Diocesan branch, forming the General Theological Seminary, and was thus able to secure for it the Sherred legacy.

The united seminaries, now the General Seminary, reopened in 1822, with twenty-three students. The classes were held in rooms of the Trinity Church school, at the northeast corner of Canal and Varick Streets.

Here I want to insert a note concerning the faculty of the Seminary. Not long since, in a conversation in London, concerning Theological Colleges, one of the most learned and ablest of the clergy of the Church of England said, in my hearing, that, in his opinion, the best Theological College in the world was the General Theological Seminary in New York City. Even if all did not agree with that, all did agree that it was one of the best.

After carefully going over the list of those who have taught in the Seminary since its foundation, without fear of objection, I say that the reason for that excellence has been entirely due to its faculty. I do not mean that the faculty in years past have always been of the very highest rank, but I do mean that, taking the Seminary by and large, its faculty has been one, not only of sound learning, but of ability to impart that learning. We have had some great teachers. We have had some great characters, but we have also had a high average of excellence.

In reviewing the past, one thing comes out clearly. This is so from the beginning; it has been so through the whole history of the Seminary, and it is so today. The members of the faculty have always been self-sacrificing men. For example, for a number of years the Rev. Hugh Smith gave instruction in Pastoral Theology and Pulpit Eloquence, and the Rev. Samuel Seabury in the Evidences of Christianity and Moral Science. In Dean Hoffman's history of the Seminary, he notes that they "received the thanks of the trustees for their valuable services." We have recognized their excellence, but we have not always recognized this excellence by paying them adequate salaries. They have given a great deal more than they have ever received.

One of the best-loved, most learned and devout professors,

curiously enough, was always called "the atheist" by his students. This was no criticism of his orthodoxy. It was due to the fact that, when offering prayer, he put a preliminary "M-n" before "O God," so that the irreverent always claimed he opened every prayer by saying "No God." Hence the appellation, "the atheist."

Another professor prided himself on his ability to recite the entire service for Morning and Evening Prayer from memory. While in the midst of performing this "feat" one time, his memory skipped and, to the amazement and amusement of the congregation, he was heard to say, quite audibly, "I beg your pardon, God, but I am afraid I have forgotten." The situation was saved, however, because one of the professors had been following the service with the Prayer Book and took it up at that point.

The Seminary has been especially fortunate in its deans. Until 1869 there was a system of what might be called "rotating deans." I mean the professors took turns in being dean and, apparently, this alternating system worked fairly well for the early days. But when the Seminary grew, it was evident that there must be a permanent dean. This was especially so when the need arose for raising funds.

Light is thrown on the change of theological emphasis from the early days to the present by looking over the books which different members of our faculty published. In the early days the emphasis was strongly controversial. Professor Hawks held forth on "Auricular Confession," and Bishop Hobart published "An Apology for Apostolic Order and Its Advocates." Professor Jarvis replied with vigor to Dr. Milner's "End of Religious Controversy." Dr. Ogilby wrote on "The Catholic Church in England and America," and set forth an outline against the validity of lay baptism. Professor Richey published a book on "The Parables of the Lord Jesus According to S. Matthew." Professor Samuel Seabury wrote on the "Continuity of the Church of England in the Sixteenth Century," and in 1861 published a book, "American Slavery Distinguished from the Slavery of English Theorists, and Justified by the Law of Nature." Dr. Seymour entered the fray with a book on "Cranmer and the Reformation Period" and another on "What is Modern Romanism?" Dr. Turner, whose autobiography ought to be in the hands of every graduate of the Seminary, was a great man and a devoted and self-sacrificing one. He published five books on the Epistles and a number of others, well in advance of the usual thinking of his day, of the teachings of the Master and the character and interpretation of scriptural prophecy. He served on the faculty from the beginning of the Seminary until his death in 1861. While he was retired for a brief period before his death, his connection with and interest in the Semi-

nary continued until the end of his life. He was a friend and pupil of Bishop White.

Here, in passing, I want to call attention to an interesting fact concerning our faculty. A good many of them have been notable for their interest in subjects outside the realm of Seminary teaching. Professor Jarvis published an extremely valuable brochure on "The Religion of the Indian Tribes of North America"; Professor Clement Clark Moore wrote a compendious lexicon of the Hebrew language and "A Visit from Saint Nicholas"; Professor Haight was the editor of the *Journal of Christian Education*; Professor Hawks was a historian and wrote a "History of New England," a "History of North Carolina," and a "History of the United States"; Professor Samuel Seabury was editor of the *Churchman* during the Tractarian controversy; Dean Hoffman, in addition to his many other works, compiled the genealogy of the Hoffman family; Professor Riley was the author of an extremely interesting and valuable biography of Dean Hoffman; Professor F. J. Hall wrote a History of the Diocese of Chicago; Dr. Denslow was a great botanist and an authority on wild orchids; Professor Batten wrote "The Relief of Pain by Mental Suggestion"; Professor Easton is well known as an amateur astronomer.

The Rev. Dr. Samuel Roosevelt Johnson was Professor of Dogmatic Theology, 1850-69. He was of a very distinguished family and had, in early life, been very wealthy. However, he gave practically all his fortune away. One who knew him well during the days of his professorship says he was a saint if sanctity be as it has been defined, "the confluence of all virtues in a single soul." He was especially familiar for his Bible reading. When he read the lesson in which are the words, "O Absalom, my son, my son," the tears would often stream down his face.

Dr. Haight, for many years assistant minister of Trinity Church, was Instructor in Pastoral Theology. He was said to be an old-fashioned Anglican theologian, very conservative and very judicious. His son, Charles C. Haight, was the architect of the present group of modern buildings in Chelsea Square, with the exception of Seabury Hall, of which Messrs. Tilton and Githens were the architects.

Dr. John David Ogilby was Professor of Ecclesiastical History from 1840 to 1851. He was one of the leading High Churchmen of his day. He wrote a monumental work on Lay Baptism, of which it has been observed that it "records his memory for the whole Church, although its theory has not been, and is not, generally accepted."

One of the greatest of our faculty succeeded Dr. Ogilby in 1851—the Rev. Dr. Milo Mahan. He continued in the chair of History from 1851 to 1864. Those who studied under him will testify to his

greatness as a teacher and to his learning and to his wisdom. Professor Mahan's son, Admiral Mahan, gave to the world that marvelous book on sea power.

Of course, the best known early member of the faculty is Professor Clement Clark Moore, LL.D. He was a lay professor and occupied the chair of Hebrew. He was one of our two great benefactors. He wrote a Hebrew grammar and, no doubt, expected to be remembered by this work. Those who are familiar with the work which gave him his greatest fame, "A Visit from Saint Nicholas," are generally surprised to learn that this witty and lovely poem was written by a learned professor of Hebrew. Curiously enough, about this time the chair of Evidences was held by a layman, the Hon. Gulian Crommelin Ver Planck.

Professor Benjamin Treadwell Onderdonk, afterwards Bishop of New York, served exactly forty years on the faculty teaching Ecclesiastical Polity and Law.

Those who studied at the Seminary during the years when Professor Richey taught there will, I am sure, agree in the statement that he was, perhaps, one of the most "all around" teachers one could imagine. He was, of course, a man of great intellectual gifts and an eloquent preacher, but especially he had a marvelous and many-sided mind. He was a master of Church History and was a great Hebrew scholar. In fact, Bishop Whittingham, who was his great friend, always used to call him "Old Testament Richey." He was a classical scholar. We learned history under Professor Richey. We *had* to learn it. He was a strict disciplinarian, but he taught us all sorts of knowledge in addition to that and he had the power of bringing out all that was best in a student. Whether his students admired him or not, there never was one who studied under Professor Richey who did not respect him. He had a caustic wit and alas for the man who pretended or tried to deceive him or who was either lazy or insincere.

Dr. William Jones Seabury was the son of Dr. Samuel Seabury and served as Professor of Ecclesiastical Polity and Law from 1873-1916. Dr. Seabury was trained as a lawyer and his legal training served him in good stead as a Professor of Ecclesiastical Polity and Law. While we were in the Seminary perhaps we did not rightly value Dr. Seabury's great learning and his great clearness of mind, but in after years I am sure his teaching has always proved its value.

Dr. Randall Cook Hall, affectionately known as "Rabbi Hall," taught for twenty-five years. He began right after his graduation. He was the most conscientious of teachers. His book on the "Elements of Hebrew" was dear to his heart and he certainly drove it into

the minds of his students, although, perhaps, not always into their hearts.

Professor Eigenbrodt taught Pastoral Theology from 1882-1889. He was a man of great business ability and a painstaking teacher. He was a gentleman of old-fashioned manners, but the requirements of his chair were not as varied as they are today and those who studied under him well remember "Gresley on Preaching." As the writer recalls, about a third of the time was occupied trying to prove that every clergyman ought to write his own sermons.

Professor Buel was a cross between a Calvinistic Puritan and a High Churchman. He looked like the former. He was a man of learning, but he was also essentially a most dogmatic person. Woe betide the students who, in an examination, gave an answer, no matter how really correct it might be, differing in the slightest degree from Professor Buel's opinion. His marks never would be high.

From 1881-1902, the Rev. Francis Thayer Russell was instructor in Reading the Church Service and Delivery of Sermons. Professor Russell was a winning personality. He was very popular with his students and, as he was a fine elocutionist, one of the ways sometimes adopted by the students to escape recitation was to call on him to give some of his famous recitations. Usually he was willing to comply with the invitation and many a happy and amusing hour was passed listening to him. Professor Russell used solemnly to instruct his class in the delivery of sermons, saying that there were two methods of elocutionary expression in this—first, "serious, grave, dignified and self-contained," and, second, "light, gay, lively and uncontrolled." Dr. Russell advised that, when the time came for us to preach, we should not follow exclusively one or the other, but wisely mingle the two.

As already noted, until 1869 the professors of the Seminary acted as dean in rotation, but in this year the trustees formally decided on the deanship and the Rev. John Murray Forbes, D.D., was elected. Dr. Forbes was one of the most notable men of his day. Professor Riley characterized him as "picturesque." He began his ministry in the Episcopal Church and then became a Roman Catholic. He held a distinguished place in that Church and served for some time as pastor of St. Ann's Roman Catholic Church in this city. While Dr. Forbes had married in his earlier ministry, his wife died and so he became eligible for the priesthood in the Roman Church. A writer who remembers him records that it was a remarkable spectacle to see his former priest celebrating at the altar assisted by his own sons.

Finally, however, Dr. Forbes left the Roman Church and returned to his own. In spite of his great ability, he apparently was

not entirely successful in the position of dean. The reaction from Rome was said to have impaired his influence. He became too strict, evidently fearing that his students might follow his example. He served as dean until 1872. Later, in 1875, one of the great teachers of the Church became dean. He was also Professor of Ecclesiastical History. Dr. Seymour was not only a great teacher of history, but he was a great preacher. After his election to the Episcopate, the trustees unanimously elected Dean Hoffman.

Dean Hoffman is best remembered as, together with Clement Moore, one of the two great benefactors of the Seminary. He was a man of fine business ability and a truly great administrator. He was then in the prime of life and had had great experience in the Church. He had been Rector of Christ Church, Elizabeth, N. J., and then of St. Mary's, Burlington, then of Grace Church, Brooklyn Heights, and St. Mark's, Philadelphia—all large and important parishes. This varied ministry in different parishes effectively added to his equipment for his position in the Seminary.

Dean Seymour had been Professor of Ecclesiastical History and, when the new dean was elected, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Richey was called to the chair of Ecclesiastical History. This was in 1879.

What is not so well known about Dean Hoffman is the fact that he was one of the best educated men the Seminary faculty ever had. He was educated at Rutgers and at Harvard College. He was a thorough student and at Harvard he studied for considerable time under the great Professor Agassiz and he accompanied this professor on a scientific expedition to Lake Superior. It was certainly an adventurous journey and one of considerable hardship, made in primitive trains of the era and by small steamships and Indian batteaux. Beside the scientist, the journey up from Sault Ste. Marie was made with half-breeds and Indians, and it was extremely rough. The Dean afterwards used to say that the cooking, while not of the best, was certainly notable for its speed. "To give an instance of our appetites," wrote Dean Hoffman, "each of the party will drink two quart bowls of coffee or tea of the strongest kind, sweetened only with a little maple sugar, morning or evening; and then will eat salt pork boiled only twenty minutes, and bread made with flour and water and fried with a piece of salt pork. This bread will answer equally well to *lead* fish-lines and to eat. At noon, when we have not always time to cook, we devour raw ham with the greatest gusto."

The journey occupied more than two months and the expedition went up through the Michigan peninsula to where the mine, afterward known as the Calumet and Hecla, was situated.

It is difficult to realize what Dr. Hoffman accomplished during

the time he was dean. When he came to the Seminary its equipment consisted of the two old buildings—the East Building and the West Building. These, while in a way picturesque, were in almost all ways inconvenient. “The Commons” was a dreadful room—ill-lighted and ill-ventilated, so inconvenient that meals were almost always, of necessity, cold. Someone asked Professor Russell, “Do you remember the dining-hall?” Professor Russell said that he certainly did, adding, “I can smell it now.” The chapel was small, noisy and overcrowded. The endowments of the Seminary were inadequate. In 1879 the total income from endowments was about \$8,000.00. Most of the professors at that time, six in number, lived outside the Seminary grounds. In 1880 Dean Hoffman held a meeting of the clergy and laity for the purpose of considering raising a fund for further endowments. He had in mind the sum of \$750,000.00. He stated that \$250,000.00 was needed at once. At that meeting \$25,000.00 was subscribed by a layman. This was the beginning of the transformation of the Seminary.

The New York *Evening Post* of April 9, 1880, in an editorial stated: “The appeal of the General Theological Seminary in this city of the Protestant Episcopal Church for an endowment fund of nearly three hundred thousand dollars, which we printed the other day, will, we hope and believe, meet with a prompt response from the members of that Church. As a business statement the appeal has great force. ‘Its (the Seminary’s) net income last year,’ the committee say, ‘available for the salaries of its dean and six professors and ordinary current expenses, was only \$7,625.14.’ But for the fact that gentlemen have been found willing to serve on its faculty without any or with very inadequate remuneration for their services, its doors would have been closed long ago. This is a condition of things which ought to be changed as soon as it is known. The self-sacrificing of scholars in the matter of teaching for inadequate remuneration is too common in our larger institutions of learning, whose funds very generally are devoted to special purposes instead of being available for the general maintenance of the work. While the laborer is always worthy of his hire, this is especially true in the case of learned and godly men who do not permit a beggarly sustenance to stand in the way of their work of instruction. It would be shameful if the rich laymen to whom this appeal is made should let the self-sacrifice in this instance go on longer, and we do not believe that they will do so.”

“In the Dean’s annual report of 1882, this notable remark is to be found: ‘for the first time in many years the Seminary is now in a position to meet its current expenses. Its continuance is now assured. For this blessing let us thank God.’ ”

The cornerstone of the first of the new buildings, Sherred Hall, was laid May 18, 1883. "With the erection of Sherred Hall," says the author of the Centennial History of the Diocese of New York, "was begun a filling out of the magnificent plans for the group of buildings, the completion of which will give the General Seminary the best advantages of the present age."

On this occasion Bishop Seymour, who made one of the addresses, called attention to the fact that it was forty years since a new building had been erected "on these grounds." "It is cheering," he said, "to think that the long period of inactivity has come to an end."

Sherred Hall, as has been noted, was the first of the buildings which now cover three sides of Chelsea Square. "The plans for the group had from the start been carefully prepared by Mr. Charles C. Haight, the accomplished son of the Rev. Dr. Haight, formerly, as we have seen, professor at the Seminary."

While one must pay tribute to the genius of Charles C. Haight, who has given to the Seminary one of the best examples of what fine collegiate architecture should be, one should also pay a tribute to the Dean for his wisdom in choosing such an architect.

In 1884 Hobart Hall was begun and in 1885 it was dedicated. In September of the same year Pintard and Dehon Halls were occupied and, two months later, the cornerstone of the Deanery was laid. In 1886 the cornerstone of the chapel was laid. The following year Jarvis Hall was begun. In October, 1888, the Chapel of the Good Shepherd was consecrated. Three years later two more halls, Dodge and Kohne, were occupied. The cornerstone of the professors' houses in the east quadrangle was laid in June, 1892, and in July, 1895, additional residences for professors were commenced in the west quadrangle. Then followed the laying of the cornerstone of Hoffman Hall and also that of Eigenbrodt Hall.

"I know of nothing," says Dr. Dix, "in the history of collegiate growth and expansion to equal this; the simple record is enough to give the impression of a march, steady and uninterrupted, right onward, in the strength of a grand and inspiring purpose and under the guidance of a great heart, a clear mind, and a strong hand."

Professor Riley, in his Memorial Biography of Dean Hoffman, adds:

"Nothing, indeed, in the history of the American Church has equalled this wonderful accomplishment. As William of Wykeham is remembered in England for Windsor Castle, Winchester Schools, and New College, so will Dean Hoffman be remembered as the William of Wykeham of the American Church; and while the centuries go on his buildings will probably stand as do those of the great Bishop of

Winchester. When the hand of time causes these to crumble, the pictorial art of our century will hand them on to more distant times as the monuments of a man who knew his time, his vocation, his opportunities, and his destiny, and who enriched his native city and the Church of his birth with an architectural triumph which is a joy to the artist, the architect, the ecclesiastic, and the citizen."

Hoffman Hall was certainly greatly needed. Before its erection the Seminary dining-room was known as "the long room." In earlier times it had been used as the chapel. At every meal a professor presided, and it has been remarked that this professor's life was one of martyrdom. "If he did not 'eat ashes as it were bread,' he ate bread as if it were ashes, at breakfast, dinner, and supper, never knowing at what moment he would be obliged to ring his bell for order or be compelled even to rise to his feet to compel obedience. The situation was to blame much more than the men; and one may say just here that the erection of Hoffman Hall ended at a stroke all these difficulties. In the larger spaces of the noble refectory, in its well-ventilated atmosphere, and under the influence of its architectural dignity and perhaps of the faces of great men looking down from the walls, disorder became obsolete and the hours at table became a social delight instead of a dread. There was indeed then a crying need for what Hoffman Hall ultimately afforded."

Both Eigenbrodt Hall, built from Professor Eigenbrodt's legacy, and Hoffman Hall were dedicated May 30, 1900. After a fitting tribute to Dr. Eigenbrodt, Dr. Dix said:

"Hoffman Hall is the gift of the alumni and other friends to the Seminary, as a mark of their recognition of the services of the present Dean for the past twenty-one years, and their appreciation of the advantages of every kind which it has enjoyed under his administration. To be your spokesman at this time may properly be accounted a privilege of a high order. In availing myself of it, I shall speak freely of the man whom we delight to honor, and no personal consideration shall hinder my speech. I am one of the last of the friends of his youth; we were together as students and residents in the East building fifty years ago. Men who can look back so long and perceive no clouds upon the retrospect, who have been of one mind in their general views of duty, and must be making up their record for an early presentation to the Great Arbiter, care neither to make nor to receive compliments; but they may be allowed to speak out their thoughts, as occasion is afforded. And so, in accepting the invitation which gives me the right to be here this morning, I understand it to confer the added right to bear my witness to the life work of the illustrious

head of this Seminary, as brother to brother, as friend to friend.

"To manage, govern, and control such an institution as has been described requires an exceptional man. Great are the difficulties of the executive head of any large college, university, or school of instruction. Imagine the embarrassment of his position. He must comprehend the character of the organization of which he is the head. He must live with it and in it, in sympathy with its objects. He must guard it from the demoralizing influences of a restless and experimental age. He must keep in with the trustees, hold the respect of the students, command the confidence of the faculty, approve himself to the constituency represented or interested in his charge. He must bear with much, put up with much, endure fault-finding and criticism patiently. He must keep himself from growing old, opinionated, and crabbed, and minimize the harm done by any of the staff who may also grow old, opinionated, and querulous. He needs good sense, judgment, tact, forbearance; a strong conviction that he knows best what ought to be done, without obtruding that conviction on others who would resent it and assert themselves against his judgment. He should be a man of affairs, familiar with business—a man of the world, in the right sense of the term; not a recluse, not an impracticable, nor what is called, in our descriptive popular slang, a 'crank.' I venture to express the belief that leaders, such as presidents of universities, deans of colleges and seminaries, rectors of parishes, and bishops of dioceses, ought to have large powers and ample control, and that the danger lies in their having too little of these rather than too much. The man who rules should be looked up to; not looking about him all the while to see what others think of him and shaping his course to please them. The democratic theory is that the power comes from the people. But the hypothesis is that the people are intelligent, virtuous, and honest—if not, democracy is the worst of all methods of governing men; and the poorest work a ruler can be at is that of studying popular currents, counting heads for votes, and trimming sail to every passing flaw of wind. What we want in our seminaries and colleges are strong men, as little hampered as may be by governing boards, trustees, directors, vestries, conventions; men of conscience, rectitude, and honor. Put the right man in the right place, and let him rule with a sound heart and clear eyes and a firm hand."

In addition to carrying out these great works and raising the large sums of money for them, Dean Hoffman was famous for the care with which he looked after minor matters, as witness these directions for housekeeping of the various buildings:

JARVIS HALL

Entrance—Brushed and mopped daily.
Floors in hall and parlor scrubbed weekly.
Glass in doors washed weekly.
Parlor dusted daily.
Hall lamps washed every other day, Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday.

LIBRARY

Library and Reading Room—Dusted daily, and swept whenever dirty.
Floors—Hall Library, Reading, and Pamphlet rooms and stairs scrubbed weekly.
Windows—Washed every two weeks.

SHERRED HALL

Halls—Scrubbed weekly.
Lecture Rooms—Scrubbed weekly.
Lecture Rooms and Halls—Dusted daily.
Lecture Room Windows—Washed every three weeks.

CHAPEL

Dusted daily, and windows in vestry washed weekly.
All floors scrubbed weekly.

EAST AND WEST BUILDINGS

Front and back steps brushed daily.

YARD LAMPS

Washed Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.

SCRUBBING AND LAMPS

Monday—Library, Reading Room, and Yard Lamps.
Tuesday—Sherred Hall, Jarvis Lamps.
Wednesday—Sherred Hall, Yard Lamps.
Thursday—Chapel, Jarvis Lamps.
Friday—Chapel, Yard Lamps.
Saturday—Jarvis Hall, Jarvis Lamps.

Also, he gave minute care to the subject of the bill of fare in the refectory. I wish I had time to copy out these menus. They certainly were carefully prepared long before the Seminary had the services of a dietician. It was perfectly evident that the Dean provided a "balanced ration."

In addition to the sums raised outside by Dean Hoffman, we must remember the endowments—The Samuel Verplanck-Hoffman Foundation, which, last reported, amounted to about \$160,000.00; the Eugene Augustus Hoffman Professorship of Pastoral Theology, endowed by his father and increased by his own gift to \$80,000.00; Glorvina Rossell Hoffman Professorship of Literature and Interpreta-

tion of the New Testament, endowed with \$75,000.00, in memory of his mother; the Mary Crooke Hoffman Professorship of Dogmatic Theology, endowed with \$80,000.00.

Also, he enriched the Seminary with one of the best, if not *the* best, collection of Bibles in the world, numbering nearly 1,200. This ranks with the British Museum in London and the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris.

During this time, the system of instruction was changed from the recitation system to the lecture system.

The Rev. Dr. Philander Cady, first professor on the alumni professorship fund, began his duties in 1889. He was a close friend of the Dean's and very shortly after coming on the faculty was appointed sub-dean. After the death of Dean Hoffman, and before the accession of Dean Wilfred L. Robbins, he was active Dean. He was a fine scholar; a man of noble presence, and was said to suggest a French rather than an American priest. Someone said he looked like an Abbe of the Bourbon period dropped down into Chelsea Square. Dr. Cady was the baldest man the writer has ever seen. There was not a hair on his head. It is related that on one occasion, after his retirement, he came back for a short visit to the Seminary and stayed with one of the professors. In the morning when he came down to breakfast he is said to have addressed his hostess as follows: "My dear, I do not know whether it was just tactless or an insult—" and to her astonished, "Why, Dr. Cady!" he explained, in his polite manner, "My dear, I found two hair brushes and two combs on the bureau in my room."

Dean Hoffman was succeeded by the Very Rev. Wilfred Lash Robbins, D.D., Dean of All Saints Cathedral, Albany. Dean Robbins was a man of very great learning and ability. He had the temperament of an artist. Rarely have we had in the Episcopal Church a preacher of his ability. He served as Dean from 1903-1916. Unfortunately, he was far from strong. His health was always poor, and as time went on, serious illnesses occurred more frequently until finally, because of this ill health, he was obliged to retire. During the time between his retirement and the election of the present Dean, Dr. Denslow, who was sub-dean, became acting Dean. Mention has been made of Dr. Denslow's eminence as a botanist. From 1902 to 1924 he served with the greatest distinction as Professor of Pastoral Theology. One can hardly imagine, in some ways, anyone better fitted for teaching Pastoral Theology than he. In the first place, he had what is certainly most essential to a pastor—an even disposition and temperament. Personally, I never have known anybody so truly methodical as Professor Denslow. Certainly an equable tem-

perament and methodical ability are essentials in a pastor. Beside all that, he was a sound liturgiologist. He served for some years on the Committee for the Revision of the Prayer Book and, as one who had the privilege of being associated with him there, I can testify to the value of the contributions which he made to that work. After his retirement in 1924, he continued to serve the Seminary with great ability as sub-dean until 1931. Before coming to the Seminary, Professor Denslow had been chaplain and liturgical instructor in Kenyon College. He had served successfully in the ministry as Rector of the Church at Muncie, Indiana, and of St. John's Church, Lafayette, Indiana.

The writer has felt that it would be unwise to reminisce concerning any members of the present faculty or to attempt to evaluate them. The reason why it was said that the best theological college in the Anglican communion was the General Seminary in the city of New York is because of the excellence of the faculty of the Seminary, especially at the present time. I am perfectly willing to acknowledge that our Seminary has the best faculty of any seminary, but this statement is not to be taken as in any way casting any reflection on any other seminaries. The seminaries differ, but the difference is like "for one star differeth from another star in glory." Our American seminaries are all stars.

I conclude my article with two appendices, first, a Bibliography of the major works of the Deans and Professors of the Seminary since its foundation. This valuable and interesting bibliography will give the reader an excellent idea of the intellectual calibre of members of the General Theological Seminary. It is real evidence. And, second, the list of the Deans and Professors since its foundation.

TERRAS IRRADIANT.

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DEANS AND PROFESSORS OF THE INSTITUTION
 SINCE ITS FOUNDATION

DEANS

- 1869-72 Rev. John Murray Forbes, D.D.
 1875-79 Right Rev. George Franklin Seymour, D.D., LL.D.
 1879-1902 Very Rev. Eugene Augustus Hoffman, D.D. (Oxon.), D.C.L., LL.D.
 1903-16 Very Rev. Wilford Lash Robbins, D.D., LL.D.
 1917- Very Rev. Hughell Edgar Woodall Fosbroke, D.D., LL.D.

PROFESSORS OF BIBLICAL LEARNING

- 1818-19 Rev. Samuel Farmar Jarvis, D.D.
 1821-61 Rev. Samuel Hulbeart Turner, D.D. (Historic Theology, 1818-21).
 1862-72 Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D. (Instructor, Evidences of Christianity,
 1835-39).
 1873-97 Rev. Andrew Oliver, D.D.
 1894-1906 Rev. Charles William Edmond Body, D.D., D.C.L. (Literature and
 Interpretation of the Old Testament; Emer., 1906-1912).
 1898-1906 Rev. Isbon Thaddeus Beckwith, Ph.D., D.D. (Literature and Inter-
 pretation of the New Testament).
 1906-29 Rev. Charles Carroll Edmunds, D.D. (Literature and Interpretation of
 the New Testament).
 1908-30 Rev. Loring Woart Batten, Ph.D., S.T.D. (Literature and Interpreta-
 tion of the Old Testament; Emer., 1930——).

- 1912-22 Rev. Francis Branch Blodgett, B.A., B.D. (Old Testament and Apocalyptic Literature); (Adjunct Professor Literature and Interpretation of the Old Testament, 1908-1912).
- 1913-17 Rev. William Henry Paine Hatch, B.D., Ph.D. (Language and Literature of the New Testament); (Adjunct Professor Literature and Interpretation of the New Testament, 1909-1913).
- 1919- Rev. Burton Scott Easton, Ph.D., D.D. (Professor of Literature and Interpretation of the New Testament).
- 1929- Rev. Donald Fraser Forrester, S.T.D. (Assistant, 1919-20; Teaching Fellow, 1920-9; Assistant Professor in the Department of New Testament, 1929——).
- 1934- Rev. Cuthbert Aikman Simpson, D.Th. (Instructor, 1929-34; Assistant Professor in the Department of Old Testament, 1934——).

PROFESSORS OF PASTORAL THEOLOGY

- 1820-21 Right Rev. Thomas Church Brownell, D.D., LL.D.
- 1821-30 Right Rev. John Henry Hobart, D.D.
- 1841-55 Rev. Benjamin Isaac Haight, D.D. (Instructor, 1837-39).
- 1862-89 Rev. William Ernest Eigenbrodt, D.D. (Emer., 1889-94).
- 1889-1901 Rev. Edward Hurtt Jewett, D.D., LL.D. (Emer., 1901-07).
- 1894-1902 Rev. Theodore Myers Riley, D. D. (Adjunct Professor).
- 1902-24 Rev. Herbert McKenzie Denslow, D.D. (Emer., 1924——).
- 1914-29 Rev. Charles Homer Boynton, B.D., Ph.D. (Adjunct Professor, 1910-14).
- 1925-28 Rev. Thomas Sparks Cline, D.D.
- 1927- Rev. Frederick Curtiss Lauderburn (Instructor).
- 1929- Rev. Howard Chandler Robbins, D.D.

PROFESSORS OF DOGMATIC THEOLOGY

- 1821-50 Rev. Bird Wilson, D.D. (Emer., 1850-59).
- 1850-69 Rev. Samuel Roosevelt Johnson, D.D. (Emer., 1869-73).
- 1871-88 Rev. Samuel Buel, D.D. (Emer., 1888-92).
- 1889-96 (Right) Rev. George Henry Somerset Walpole, D.D.
- 1897-1912 (Right) Rev. John Charles Roper, L.H.D., D.D.
- 1913-28 Rev. Francis Joseph Hall, D.D.
- 1928- Rev. Marshall Bowyer Stewart, D.D.

PROFESSORS OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

- 1821-22 (Right) Rev. Benjamin Treadwell Onderdonk, D.D.
- 1836-40 (Right) Rev. William Rollinson Whittingham, D.D., LL.D.
- 1840-51 Rev. John David Ogilby, D.D.
- 1851-64 Rev. Milo Mahan, D.D.
- 1865-79 (Right) Rev. George Franklin Seymour, D.D., LL.D.
- 1879-1902 Rev. Thomas Richey, D.D. (Emer., 1902-5).
- 1903-1908 (Right) Rev. Frederick Joseph Kinsman, D.D.
- 1910-22 Rev. Arthur Whipple Jenks, D.D.
- 1923- Rev. Frank Stanton Burns Gavin, Ph.D., Th.D., LL.D.

PROFESSORS OF THE HEBREW AND GREEK LANGUAGES

- 1821-50 Clement Clarke Moore, LL.D. (Emer., 1850-63).
- 1868-69 Rev. William Walton, D.D. (Instructor, 1863-68).
- 1871-99 Rev. Randall Cooke Hall, D.D. (Instructor, 1869-71; Emer., 1899——)

PROFESSOR OF HEBREW AND COGNATE LANGUAGES

- 1906- Rev. Charles Norman Shepard, D.D. (Instructor, 1898-1902; Adjunct Professor of the Literature and Interpretation of the Old Testament, 1902-06).

PROFESSORS OF CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS

- 1821-25 Hon. Gulian Crommelin Verplanck.
 1885-88 Rev. George Washington Dean, D.D.
 1889-1902 Rev. Philander Kinney Cady, D.D. (Emer., 1902-4).
 1902-1910 Rev. Charles Harris Hayes, D.D.
 1911-24 Rev. Dickinson Sergeant Miller, M.A., Ph.D., Sc.D.
 1925-31 Rev. Leonard Hodgson, S.T.D.

PROFESSORS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY AND LAW

- 1821-61 (Right) Rev. Benjamin Treadwell Onderdonk, D.D.
 1869-72 Rev. Francis Vinton, D.D.
 1873-1916 Rev. William Jones Seabury, D.D. (Instructor, 1872-73).
 1919-25 Rev. Ralph Brouwer Pomeroy, S.T.B. (Instructor, 1917-18).
 1929- Rev. John Alexander Richardson (Lecturer, 1926-7; Instructor, 1927-9; Assistant Professor, 1929——).

PROFESSOR OF MORAL THEOLOGY AND CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY

- 1895-1903 Rev. Charles Theodore Seibt, D.D. (Emer., 1903-1911).

PROFESSOR OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS

- 1908-25 Rev. Arthur Prince Hunt, B.D.

INSTRUCTORS IN ELOCUTION

- 1904-18 Rev. Albert Francis Tenney.
 1919-33 Mr. Walter Robinson.

INSTRUCTOR IN CHURCH MUSIC AND ORGANIST

- 1901-34 Mr. Clement Rowland Gale.

INSTRUCTOR IN READING THE CHURCH SERVICE AND DELIVERY
OF SERMONS

- 1881-1902 Rev. Francis Thayer Russell.

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EDITORIAL NOTES

WITH this number the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE completes a half decade of its own history. On the threshold of its sixth year some reflections on its past, present and future may not be out of order.

Launched in the very depths of the depression with the approval of a Joint Committee of General Convention and under the auspices of the Church Historical Society, and with the financial assistance of a few generous patrons, the Magazine was accorded signal recognition by both Houses of the General Convention of 1934 in the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars be appropriated to cover the ensuing three years to be expended under the direction of the Joint Committee for the purpose of aiding in research and in publication of material relating to the history of this Church.

This is in accord with the established practice of other churches, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian having appropriated since 1926 for the Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society an annual sum which has averaged between \$600 and \$750, or about twice that made available to the Joint Committee of General Convention.

Whether or not our stewardship in this matter has been satisfactory, our readers may and the General Convention of 1937 will judge. That the Church at large is evincing a growing and appreciative interest is shown by the fact that our subscribers have increased since 1934 by over one hundred per cent. Let it be clearly understood that every dollar received, from whatever source, is expended solely in the cost of publication—printing, photostats, copying and other necessary editorial expenses—without one cent for salaries. Editors and contributors of articles give their services as a labour of love in the promotion of this Church's history.

Beginning with the Bishop Seabury number of 1934, the Magazine has issued each year a special double number, followed by the Bishop Kemper number of 1935 and the General Theological number of 1936. In 1937, two special double numbers will be published: the Bishop White number in March and the Church-in-Ohio number in September. The regular issues have attracted increasing attention. The

Magazine is not in one sense a *propaganda* organ; in another and proper sense of that term—making known historical truth—it is the very best kind. To illustrate, the *Idaho Statesman* asked permission to reprint in installments of its Sunday edition the article, "*Memories of an Idaho Missionary*," appearing in our June issue. Permission was granted, the article has been reprinted therein, and far from injuring the Church in Idaho, we have reason to believe that it has helped it.

But with all these reasons for encouragement, we are far from complacent. HISTORICAL MAGAZINE's purposes have only begun to be realized. A solid foundation, we feel, has been laid. But the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE of the future will far surpass that of the past five years. Among other purposes, we wish to increase each number to a minimum of one hundred pages and to reduce the price that we may increase the circle of our readers.

THE fundamental objective of the Magazine is a greater knowledge and an enhanced appreciation of the American Church's history on the part of bishops, clergy and laity. Something of what we mean is well expressed in a recent letter from the professor of Church History in one of our seminaries:

"I have thought for a long time that the constitution of our Church is really one of the most remarkable documents I know for the way it adapted Anglicanism to a new environment and showed that the essentials of Anglicanism could flourish apart from establishment, apart from English life and customs, apart from bishops in the great executive powers untrammelled by the lay voice save for king or parliament.

"In our Seminary we think American Church History very important. We give three hours per week the entire first term of Senior year to it, which I think is more than any other seminary; and an elective for Seniors in the spring term. In that term the students work at but *one* subject; consequently, for those who elect the offering in American Church History it engages all their time for the whole spring term."

THE One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the consecration of Bishops William White and Samuel Provoost will be observed on February 4th, 1937, in Philadelphia and New York. On the morning of that day a celebration of the Holy Communion will be held in St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, with a sermon by the Bishop of Pennsylvania. A service will be held in Christ Church in the evening at which the address will be given by the Rev. Walter H. Stowe, rector of Christ Church, New Brunswick, and Historiographer of the Diocese of New Jersey. Short addresses will also be given by the Presiding Bishop and Bishop Manning of New York. On the morning of the same day a service will be held in the historic St. Paul's Chapel, New York. Bishop Manning will be the Celebrant. The bishops of the six dioceses of the State of New York will be invited together with the Mayor of the city and representatives of the leading Patriotic Societies.

BISHOP WILLIAM H. DE LANCEY

By G. Sherman Burrows

THERE are in the library of the De Lancey Divinity School, Buffalo, N. Y., a full-length portrait, a bust and a death-mask of the first Bishop of the Diocese of Western New York. They agree in presenting refined features, a high brow, far-seeing eyes, a moderately aquiline nose, firm lips and a strong chin. The figure is a commanding one, suggesting poise and power.

Three descriptions of Bishop De Lancey's personal appearance have been preserved to us, each by a man who knew him well. The first is by the Rev. C. W. Hayes, D.D., who wrote of him as he appeared in the early days of his episcopate:¹

No one who beheld his first ministrations in the Diocese will ever forget the striking impression they made. In the prime of life: with a noble and commanding presence such as few men possessed; erect, slender, almost youthful in looks; with a graceful, finished, yet unaffected manner: a lofty yet impassioned eloquence, a powerful yet perfectly modulated and musical voice—he stood alone in his Diocese as a preacher, and seemed to those who then first welcomed him the very ideal of a Bishop.

The second description is by the Rev. George Morgan Hills, sometime Rector of St. Paul's, Syracuse, N. Y., and is of his later years:²

His rare personal beauty contributed not a little to win men at the outset: his majestic form, his lofty brow, his soft expressive eyes, the rich tones of his well-tutored voice, and the dignity and gracefulness of his gestures, threw their combined charms about his presence and his speech, so that whether at the domestic hearth, in the drawing room, in the pulpit, or in deliberative debate, he enchained his auditors and bound them to his will. And then the treasures of his mind, the sympathies of his heart, the urbane

¹"*The Episcopate of Bishop De Lancey*," "*The Church Monthly*," Vol. X, p. 124.

²"*The Wise Master Builder*," by G. M. Hills. Press of Masters and Lee, Syracuse, N. Y., 1865.

decisiveness of his manner and the under-stratum of piety discernible in all, left the impression upon everyone he met which at once framed itself in words. "He was born to be an Apostle."

Also by the Hon. Andrew D. White who, in his Autobiography, wrote of Bishop De Lancey:³

"He was the most impressive man I have ever seen. I have stood in the presence of many prelates in my day, from Pope Pius IX down; but no one of them has ever so awed me as this Bishop of Western New York. His entry into a church chancel was an event; no music could be finer than his reading of the service; his confirmation prayer still dwells in my memory as the most perfect petition I have ever heard; and his simple, earnest sermons took strong hold of me."

The Rt. Rev. William Heathcote De Lancey, D.D., was a descendant of a distinguished French family, the known history of which reaches back to the fifteenth century—to one, Guy de Lancey, Ecuycere Vicomte de Laval et de Nouvion. Guy de Lancey's great-great grandson, the fifth Vicomte—Charles de Lancey—married Isabel Branche, April 15, 1534, and had children, of whom Jacques (James) Claude was the ancestor of a Huguenot branch of the family. His son, the Seigneur Jacques de Lancy, of Caen, married Marguerite Bertrand. Their son, Etienne (or Stephen) de Lancey, born at Caen, October 24, 1663, was one of those who, on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, were deprived of their titles and estates. Stephen escaped to Holland and from there proceeded to England, where he took out letters of denization as an English subject. In March, 1686, he sailed for New York, where he arrived the following June, and where he became a successful merchant, amassing a large fortune. He was honored by appointments in the councils of the city, was an Alderman of the West Ward and was a representative from the city and county of New York in the Provincial Assembly. He was also a vestryman of Trinity Church.

Stephen De Lancey married Anne Van Cortlandt, daughter of Stephanus Van Cortlandt. Their eldest son was Lieutenant Governor James De Lancey, who married the daughter of Colonel Caleb Heathcote. John Peter De Lancey, the third surviving son of Lieutenant Governor James De Lancey, lived at Heathcote Hill, Mamaroneck, N. Y. He married Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Colonel Richard Floyd. They had eight children, of whom one—

³"*Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White*," Vol. II, p. 524. *The Century Company*, N. Y., 1905.

Susan—became the wife of James Fenimore Cooper; and another—William Heathcote—the first Bishop of Western New York.⁴

William Heathcote De Lancey was born October 8, 1797, at Mamaroneck, N. Y. He graduated at Yale College in 1817 and later received from his Alma Mater the degree of Doctor in Divinity, to which other degrees were added by other colleges in the succeeding years. He married, November 22, 1820, Frances Munro, granddaughter of the Rev. Harry Munro, D.D., sometime Rector of St. Peter's, Albany. They had five sons and three daughters: Edward Floyd, Margaret Munro, Elizabeth Floyd, John Peter, Peter Munro, William Heathcote (who died young), Frances and William Heathcote, II. He pursued theological studies under the direction of the Rt. Rev. John Henry Hobart, D.D. He was made a Deacon December 28, 1819, and ordained to the Priesthood March 6, 1822, by Bishop Hobart.

De Lancey's first pastoral work was at his home, Mamaroneck, to which he went as a Deacon and where he became the first Rector of St. Thomas' Parish. In 1822, largely through the influence of Bishop Hobart, he became assistant to Bishop White in the three parishes in Philadelphia, of which that venerable prelate was Rector, and was elected one of the regular staff the following year. He was Secretary of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, 1823-1830, and of the House of Bishops in the General Convention of the Church, 1823-1829. He continued as Assistant Minister until the reorganization of the University of Pennsylvania in 1828, when he was chosen Provost of that institution. He held the office of Provost five years and then resigned to return as Assistant at St. Peter's, Philadelphia. After the death of Bishop White, in 1836, he succeeded to the rectorship. While Assistant in Philadelphia he was closely associated with other assistants, including the Reverend Messrs. James Abercrombie and Jackson Kemper. He left St. Peter's parish in 1839 to become Bishop of the newly erected Diocese of Western New York.

On renewing his connection with St. Peter's, after his term as Provost at the University, Dr. De Lancey preached two sermons (June 23 and June 30, 1833,) which indicate clearly the mind and spirit with which he went about his pastoral duties—a mind and spirit that he carried from Philadelphia into his Episcopal office in Western New York.⁵

⁴For De Lancey family history see (a) "Diocese of Western New York," by C. W. Hayes, D.D., p. 128. Published by Scrantom, Wetmore & Co., Rochester, N. Y., 1904. (b) "A Sketch of the Bishop's Life," by Dr. Van Ingen. Published as an appendix to "The Rev. Dr. Van Ingen's Address at the Funeral of Bishop De Lancey." Press of Edgar Parker, Geneva, N. Y., 1865. (c) "History of the County of Westchester, N. Y.," Vol. I, pp. 478-482, by Robert Bolton. Press of Charles F. Roper, N. Y., 1881.

⁵"The Mutual Obligations of Pastor and People, Two Sermons." Press of Jesper Harding, Philadelphia, 1833.

The first of the two sermons bore the title, "The Pastor's Obligations to His Flock"; the second, "The Obligations of a Christian Congregation to Their Pastor." In the former he specified seven particular duties, which he conceived to attach to a pastor's business—to be faithful "in the exposition and enforcement of the doctrines of the Gospel"; "in enforcing that moral and spiritual requirement of the Gospel which exacts the change from sin to holiness"; "in urging upon his people conformity to the ordinances of the Gospel"; "in warning his flock against the evil customs and perilous seductions of this sinful world"; "in presenting to the people of his charge the claims and demands of the Church of Christ"; "in the promotion and the preservation of peace and love among this people, especially"; "in striving to exemplify in my own character and life those holy and heavenly principles which I am commissioned here to proclaim to you."

"Such, my brethren, are some of the points of ministerial duty, in regard to which I must strive to be found faithful. When I look from the magnitude of the duties to the feebleness of the agent, or when I suffer my mind to rest upon the fearful responsibility of the station, or when I turn to the awful result of unfaithfulness in the stewardship, or when I bring before my view the extent of mental exertion and physical effort, which the faithful instruction of this people will demand, I may well, without affectation, declare that the contemplation is enough to make me shudder . . . I ask you to remember when listening to the language of entreaty, or to the terms of reproof, or to the denunciations of sin, or to an exposure of the follies and evils of the world, or to the warnings against impatience and wickedness which may proceed in public or in private from the lips of him who now addresses you, that he speaks as a steward of the divine mysteries, for your spiritual and eternal good, in virtue of a commission from God, and at the peril of his own salvation."

In the latter of the two sermons he emphasized the reciprocal relation of people to pastor, begging the congregation to bear in mind "that I am speaking to you as one who holds his commission from God and who, therefore, is constrained to discharge its requisitions." Summing up the duties of the congregation, he said:

In the first place, it is the duty of the congregation stately to attend the public service of the sanctuary . . . You have invited me to take charge of this congregation—for what purpose? Amongst others, to conduct for you the devotions of this sanctuary and to preach to you the everlasting Gospel of Jesus Christ. Can these duties be

accomplished by me without your presence? . . . The very attitude in which I have been, at your desire, placed in regard to you as a minister of Christ demands of you, as well as of myself, a faithful attendance in the sanctuary of God. . . . When assembled in the sanctuary of God, it is the duty of the congregation to unite in the *worship* of the temple: audibly, attentively, and honestly to receive and weigh the instructions which it is my duty to deliver to you in this place; . . . to sustain the temporal burdens of the parish, and to throw your influence and patronage into the scale of those church institutions which pastoral obligations will require me to present to your notice: to cultivate an enlightened and hearty attachment to the Church: . . . to exemplify in your characters and lives the holy principles which, on the authority of the Gospel, the Church enforces on the consciences of her members; . . . to conform humbly and readily, to the various usages of the Church which are sanctioned by her authority.

The preacher proceeded to develop, in addition to the above, the particular duties of the vestry, of parents, of the youthful members of the flock, and of "those who kneel with me at the altar." He closed by asking their united prayers for the divine blessing upon pastor and people.

We have quoted thus fully from these sermons of his more experienced years in Philadelphia, because they express so definitely the sense of high calling and awful responsibility with which he viewed his ministry and that of the people under his charge. They help us to understand the secret of his unusual success as Priest and Bishop.

The program of duty he set for himself and his congregation was a strenuous one and its demands affected Dr. De Lancey's health. In 1835 his physician ordered him abroad to rest and recuperate his strength. His illness was of such a nature it was not certain he would ever be able to return to his labors. In a farewell address he said, "I should recollect it may be the will of our Master that this voice be never again raised as your instructor within these walls. Should such be the divine decree, I trust to be empowered by His grace to bow in humble submission to His will." Within a few months, however, he was so far recovered as to be able to resume his ministry with his wonted zeal and efficiency.

In 1826 Dr. De Lancey offered a resolution in the General Convention which results in the founding of the "General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union." All the Bishops were, *ex-officio*, vice-presidents and managers. It became the chief, if not the sole, agency for the publication of books and pamphlets for Sunday School and general church circulation. Its first manuals were prepared by

Bishop Hobart and, while it sought to be non-partisan, it was regarded in some quarters as a High Church organization. It added to its original title "and Church Book Society." It played an important part in the history of the Church.⁶

The Diocese of Western New York was formed by division of the original Diocese of New York. It was the first diocese to be created by division of the territory comprised within the boundaries of a State. The Primary Convention was convened in Trinity Church, Geneva, N. Y., on All Saints Day, 1838. On the second day of the Convention, Dr. De Lancey was elected to be the first Bishop of the new diocese. There had been no nominations for the office. Others—of whom the Rev. Dr. Manton Eastburn was one—were in the minds of some for the place. The clergy voted first, then the laity. The record is that both orders concurred on the first ballot "in the election of the Rev. William Heathcote De Lancey, D.D., of the Diocese of Pennsylvania."⁷

Dr. De Lancey accepted the designation and was consecrated Bishop in St. Peter's Church, Auburn, N. Y., May 9, 1839, at a special meeting of the Diocesan Convention. The Presiding Bishop, Dr. Alexander V. Griswold, of the "Eastern Diocese," was Consecrator, assisted by Bishops Henry U. Onderdonk, Benjamin T. Onderdonk, and George W. Doane.⁸

Later that day Bishop De Lancey was formally conducted to his Episcopal seat. Responding to the address of welcome, he expressed his feelings of gratitude:

For the cordial manner in which you have invited and received a comparative stranger to your regard and kindness. In the decisive preference of a majority, in the prompt concurrence of all, in your assembling to witness my consecration, and in the respectful and affectionate mode and language in which, through your committee, you have now welcomed me to the diocese and introduced me to the chair of the Convention, I cannot but perceive . . . a band of brothers clustering round to uphold my weakness and supply my inexperience, not by their counsels only, but by their fervent and unremitted intercessions at the throne of grace . . .

I come among you, not to distract and divide, I trust, but to bind and rivet your affections in the cause of our common Master, to lead this flock, as other and abler shepherds have led them, in paths of unity, peace and love, of ardent devotion to Christ, of unshaken attachment to His Church.

⁶"Diocese of Western New York," by C. W. Hayes, 1904, p. 223.

⁷"Diocese of Western New York," by C. W. Hayes, 1904, p. 122. Also *Diocesan Journal*, Primary Convention, 1838, p. 19.

⁸*Diocesan Journal*, Special Convention, 1839, p. 15.

Educated under the immediate eye of the revered prelate (Bishop Hobart), whose dying voice sounded from this spot, whose living strength was expended on this, as a favorite section of the State, whose imperishable monument is in the hearts of all of us, I have imbibed from the Scriptures of truth, through him, the views of evangelical doctrine and church order with which you are all so familiar and which seem to me, after a trial of twenty years, to be fundamentally connected, not with the outward prosperity of the Church alone, but the object which the Church is designed to promote, the glory of the living God, and the salvation of the immortal souls of men

Spending, also, by far the greater portion of my ministerial life in the parish, almost in the family, of another venerated man, long the object of love and regard throughout the Church in this country, I trust I have learned from his example of Christian gentleness, patient energy, quiet diligence, and steady adherence, in all practical points, to the distinctive character and principles of the Church, that the temperate, uniform, unwavering maintenance of the great principles of gospel truth and order and holiness through which the Church is blessed and man is saved, is the most effectual mode of retaining peace and harmony among ourselves, of securing the lasting respect of those that are without, and of advancing the permanent good of the Church of Christ.⁹

Thus, in gentle phrase, he made gracious acknowledgment of the debt he owed to Bishops Hobart and White as spiritual mentors, and, at the same time, made known the fact that he expected to follow their examples in doctrine and administration. He dwelt upon the place of the Church in the plan of salvation and the duty of obedience to her precepts, and he concluded by exhorting, at length, both clergy and laity to live up to their high calling, ending with "To this end let us unite our prayers and efforts, and may the God of all grace so accept the one and bless the other, that we may be permitted to see our Jerusalem in prosperity all our lives long."

We have included in this sketch sentences and paragraphs from a few of Dr. De Lancey's addresses and sermons. They are valuable, not only for the subject matter they contain, but also as samples of his style of composition. There are in the archives of the Diocese of Western New York one hundred sixty-six manuscript sermons in large hand, most of them written and delivered after he became Bishop, some of them while he was in Philadelphia, and a few during his diaconate at Mamaroneck. Nearly all of them are carefully sewed and bound in heavy paper. They are of various lengths, ranging from thirty to one hundred pages of ordinary letterhead paper. Most

⁹*Diocesan Journal, Special Convention, 1839, p. 23 ff.*

of them bear notations on the cover or on blank pages at the end, showing when and where they were preached. One, of ninety-seven pages, is on the theme "Means of Doing Good to the Church." It was delivered at St. Paul's, New York, October 17, 1832, and at St. Peter's, Philadelphia, October 27, 1833. One, on "The Poor in Spirit," is sixty-six pages long and was delivered forty-four times over a period extending from 1840 to 1863. It was delivered several times at Trinity Church, Geneva—in 1840, 1850, 1851, 1856. Another sermon on "The Mercy of God" was delivered fifty-five times from 1846 to 1852. Practically all were preached more than once, the average being, perhaps, five or six times. The subject matter was often doctrinal, sometimes evangelical, frequently practical. The titles of some of the sermons, taken at random, are: "Power and Progress of Sin in Children"; "Crucifying the Flesh"; "Persevering Piety"; "The Shiloh"; "Denying Christ Before Men"; "God Our Refuge"; "Eternity of God"; "Readiness for Death"; "Feelings and Deportment Proper in Church"; "St. Paul's Dying Words." The style of the sermons is generally clear and direct, usually formal and dignified, hardly ornate, as sometimes described.¹⁰

The diocese of which Bishop De Lancey had now become the head was large in extent of territory but small, as figures go today, in means and population. It included all the State of New York west of a line extending approximately from Sacketts Harbor to Binghampton. It comprised twenty-nine of the present counties, or 21,463 square miles. The principal cities were Utica, Syracuse, Rochester and Buffalo, none of which had more than eighteen or twenty thousand people. The largest parish was St. Luke's, Rochester, which reported about four hundred communicants. Trinity, Utica and Trinity, Geneva, reported about one hundred fifty each. The Journal of the Primary Convention lists seventy-four clergymen and ninety-six parishes and missions. The Diocesan Journal of 1840 shows 4,142 communicants and \$10,095.84 in offerings.

When Bishop De Lancey died, in 1865, the geographical extent of the diocese was as when he came to it. There were one hundred fifty-three clergymen, one hundred sixty-seven parishes and missions, 14,061 communicants, and offerings amounting to \$290,800.32.¹¹

In the twenty-six years of his Episcopate the number of clergy had more than doubled, the number of parishes and missions had increased more than seventy per cent, the number of communicants nearly two hundred forty per cent, the offerings two thousand seven hundred and eighty per cent. This was remarkable development, and through a period fraught with trouble. The Bishop's first years

¹⁰"*The Wise Master Builder*," by G. M. Hills, 1865.

¹¹*Diocesan Journal*, 1865, pp. 198-200.

in the diocese followed close upon the severe economic depression of "The Thirties." The Oxford Movement and the "Carey Case" brought more or less disturbance of the peace of the diocese. Last of all came the Civil War, with its costly draft of men and resources. There had been considerable increase in population and wealth during these years, it is true. In 1840 there were about 1,135,000 people in the diocese; in 1865, about 1,455,700. The increase, therefore, was less than eight per cent, as over against the much larger per cent of increase by church gains.

This phenomenal growth was due, in large part, to the sound church teaching of Hobart, Onderdonk and De Lancey. They made the Church mean something in those sections where it was planted. With the teaching must be included the personality as well as the wisdom and the zeal of the diocesan head. Bishop De Lancey was, in fact, not only the ecclesiastical authority in the diocese; he was, the moving spirit, stirring interest, begetting confidence, exciting the will to progress. How could it have been otherwise with a leader who, the day he was elevated to the Episcopate, challenged the diocese to be self-respecting and self-supporting. He said:

The erection of this portion of the State into a separate diocese has thrown it, to a great degree, on its own resources for church objects. I have utterly mistaken the character and means, the energy and liberality, of the diocese over which I am to preside, if it be not found adequate, with God's blessing, to the exigencies of the new position.

The Bishop unfolded his plans of organization and operation at the Diocesan Convention of 1840. Facing the situation as he found it, he said:

We have the largest diocesan missionary establishment in the Church in the United States. No missionary effort in any diocese, except in the neighboring one of New York, can be compared to it in regard either to number or prospects. Every county in the diocese furnishes missionary ground, and will be likely to furnish new stations for years to come. In urging the concentration of our efforts upon the support of the missions of the diocese as a primary duty, I feel that I am far from acting on the narrow principle which is sometimes ascribed to such as place diocesan missions paramount. It is a broad and comprehensive principle of duty—the duty of following the leadings of Providence in selecting the appropriate sphere of exertion—which does govern and, I humbly think, should govern a decision on this point. . . . No one can deny that the field immediately around us is "White unto the harvest."

Thus he centered attention and support upon Diocesan Missions. He worked out a "plan of contributions for Church Objects" and addressed a Pastoral Letter to the parishes of the diocese in explanation of it. He advocated monthly collections made at both morning and evening service, the whole day to be signalized as a day for the exercise of Christian beneficence. "No circumstances, however untoward, should be deemed by any congregation an excuse for not making these collections." They were to be for diocesan purposes solely. Separate collections should be made for extra-diocesan needs. These regulations had been submitted to the Diocesan Convention and formally adopted. The Bishop stressed this fact in his Pastoral Letter, saying:

I express myself more fully upon this point because there is a sort of lax notion prevalent in many parts of our Church that Canons and Regulations adopted by our conventions may be neglected or obeyed as caprice or feeling, or individual opinion may dictate. Such a view is a perversion of ecclesiastical responsibility without any sanction from reason or Scripture . . . Woe to the Cause of Christ and of His Church if the spirit that walks about our Zion shall be of this disorderly kind."

He commended the plan because of its simplicity, its systematic charity, its churchmanlike provisions, its evangelical character, its promise to enable the diocese to fulfill its obligations. The next year he was able to announce to the Convention that "during a year of almost unexampled scarcity in the circulating medium of the country, the diocese has yet, under the operation of the simple system, collected for Diocesan Missions more than four times the amount raised during the preceding year."¹²

The business organization of the diocese was very simple and remained so to the end of Bishop De Lancey's administration. The controlling body, then as now, was, of course, the Diocesan Convention. There were the usual Diocesan Secretary, Treasurer, Standing Committee, Deputies to the General Convention, and Trustees of the Episcopate Fund, to which were added later Trustees of the Christmas Fund—established for the aid of aged and disabled clergy, Trustees of the Permanent Missionary Fund, Trustees of the Diocesan Training School—founded by the Bishop for training men for the ministry, and two or three committees.

The Standing Committee combined with its own canonical duties the offices of the Education and Missionary Board, "with full powers in reference to education and missionary operations in the

¹²*Diocesan Journal*, 1840, p. 36.

diocese, the Bishop having the nomination of all missionaries." It was also the financial board. The Bishop was Chairman, not only of the Diocesan Convention, but of most of these boards. He was, to a large degree, the business as well as the spiritual head of the diocese. He continued as such to the end of his life. At one time there was some attempt to strip him of some of his powers, especially that of appointing missionaries. It was argued that being a "High Churchman" he chose and favored those who were of his way of thinking.¹³ The answer to the charge was that Bishop De Lancey refrained from appointing until the vestry in the case had voluntarily chosen him whom it wished to have for incumbent.¹⁴

Bishop De Lancey exercised his large powers and influence with fairness and discretion. His judgment came to be regarded as of the best by all classes. He gained a reputation for being most careful in the administration of trust funds. He was generous in the use of his own money, but "close," some thought, in the management of endowments, often increasing them by capitalization of income when there was need of distributing the income. This was the criticism that was made, particularly in regard to the use of the income of the Christmas Fund, a criticism that was heard again and again long after Bishop De Lancey's body was committed to the grave.¹⁵ Whatever the justification for the complaints, his careful attention to expenditures begot confidence in him as a financial executor and encouraged contributors to increase the amount of their gifts.

The organization and administration of the diocese in Bishop De Lancey's day never incurred the charge of extravagance, but were highly commended for their simplicity and efficiency.

The Bishop needed missionaries. To get them he founded the "Diocesan Training School," which Bishop Coxe afterwards named "De Lancey Divinity School." He was able to promise but a meager stipend, but men came in response to his appeal. In 1839 there were only thirty-four; in 1840, there were forty-one; in 1865, there were fifty-five missionaries in the diocesan field. Early in his Episcopate he had established the policy of gradually withdrawing support from aided parishes, limiting, so far as possible, the period of support to three years and thus freeing the missionary for work elsewhere. The diocese grew and became known as "The Model Diocese."

By 1841 Bishop De Lancey came to think he must give some attention to the controversy respecting the Oxford Tracts." He noted that it had penetrated thus far the diocese "to but a very limited extent." He said:

¹³"*Diocese of Western New York*," by C. W. Hayes, 1904, p. 185.

¹⁴*In those days missions were incorporated as parishes.*

¹⁵"*Diocese of Western New York*," by C. W. Hayes, 1904, p. 140.

I entertain no fears of any religious effects to the Church amongst us from these writings. They are nowhere regarded as standard works or tests of Churchmanship. The intelligence of the clergy and laity who read them will sift the wheat from the chaff, and while they take advantage of whatever in them tends to strengthen the walls of our Zion, will repudiate whatever shall be found inconsistent with the Bible and the Prayer Book. The idea of dividing the Church by the controversy thrown out by some persons of more excitability than wisdom and so readily seized upon by "them who are without" as ominous of dissolution, I hold to be preposterous in the extreme. Aside from imported excitements from abroad and the precipitate and intemperate discussions of religious newspapers at home, the unity of the Church has hardly been ruffled.¹⁶

It is difficult to conceive of an Episcopal address, delivered at a time when controversy was raging, better calculated to quiet disturbed minds. But the Bishop's reassuring words could not quiet the ever-increasing clamor. That clamor was accentuated in 1843 by the ordination in the Diocese of New York of Arthur Carey. Carey was charged by two presbyters of the diocese with "Romanizing" tendencies, but he was ordered deacon by Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk. The excitement was intense. A bitter pamphlet war ensued and the whole Church was split into opposite camps. The Diocese of Western New York was sharply divided along High and Low Church party lines such as had not appeared previously.

Dr. C. W. Hayes, referring to this unhappy situation, wrote:

"Households were divided and friendships broken over this quarrel to an extent that seems incredible now, and the nick-name (as Bishop De Lancey called it) of Puseyite became a formidable weapon for many years."¹⁷

There was mistrust of pastors by people in many places. Bishop De Lancey met the issue with even but courageous mind. He said, in his Convention Address of 1843:

In my wide intercourse with the clergy of the diocese, I know of no one among them who does not, in maintaining the cause of Christ and His Church, distinctly repudiate the errors of the Roman Catholic Church . . . as does the Church itself, her long list of Protestant martyrs, and the humble individual who speaks as the Chief Shepherd over you in the Lord.¹⁸

¹⁶*Diocesan Journal*, 1841, p. 34.

¹⁷Hayes: *Diocese of Western New York*, p. 160.

¹⁸*Diocesan Journal*, 1843, p. 35.

The Bishop's words were again effective. *The Gospel Messenger* (the diocesan paper of that time) says they "left no doubt whatever as to his (the Bishop's) position as a Churchman," and that the Convention's deliberations proceeded in so chastened and peaceful a manner that "not a word of unkindness or indication of ill temper had been seen or heard," and this "at a time when all around us were spread most painful proofs of restlessness and disruption. . . . The common word at parting was, 'What a blessed time.'"¹⁹

"Puseyism" remained a live topic for animated discussion long after it ceased to be a hotly contested one. At the height of the controversy in Western New York in 1843, Bishop De Lancey published in the *Gospel Messenger* an article entitled "What is *Not* Puseyism." He incorporated it in his 1846 Convention Address.²⁰ It attracted much attention and is of interest today. In it he specified twenty-two particulars in which "the Church held and practiced, the Prayer Book embodied and sanctioned, and the ministry maintained and acted on" the views set forth in his address "long before Dr. Pusey was born." They are, briefly, Episcopacy; Apostolic Succession; Baptismal Regeneration; Sacramental Grace; Christ's Real Presence Spiritually (not corporally nor as a mere memorial) in the Holy Communion; the Three-Fold Ministry of Bishops, Priests and Deacons; Justification by Faith, by the Merits of Christ, by Repentance and Obedience, and Sacramentally in Holy Baptism; Holy Scripture as Interpreted by the Fathers; Salvation by the Appointed Means of Grace; Obedience of Clergy and Laity to Rubrics and Canons of the Church; the Divine Origin of the Church; the Superior Value of the Church's Liturgy; the Right of Protestants to the Use of the Cross; the Right to Combine Architectural and Ritual Observance and the Use of Vestments; Bowing at the Name of Jesus; the Open Church, not only on Sundays and Saints' Days, but on all days of the week; the Due Observance of the Seasons of the Church Year; Observance of Seasons of Private Fasting and Prayer, especially during Lent; the Support of the Institutions of the Church; the Refusal to Canonize Henry VIII and Luther; the Love of the Church and Her Good in Every Way; the Preaching of the Word; and to be Instant in Season and Out of Season.

The Church, under the Bishop's strong guidance, came through those trying times in good shape. At the seventh Annual Convention he was able to say:

It is not to be supposed that I have contemplated without deep interest the outward assaults and inward

¹⁹Hayes: "*Diocese of Western New York*," p. 161.

²⁰*Diocesan Journal*, 1846, p. 42 ff.

apprehensions which during the last year have agitated the Church. . . . As far as I can perceive, the outward assaults upon the Church do not impede her progress in this diocese. My confirmations during the past year have been in advance of every former year of my Episcopate, except one. The contributions of the diocese have increased. Individual donations have multiplied. A greater number of church edifices have been repaired and improved than in any former year. I cannot but notice a more devout and solemn interest taken in the concerns of the Church by many; stricter attendance on her ordinances; greater solicitude to understand her true position and views; more confirmed and settled feelings of attachment to her standards.

Other troubles of the day that affected the Bishop deeply were those arising from criticism of the General Theological Seminary, and those arising from the difficulties of the two Onderdonks—the Bishop of Pennsylvania and the Bishop of New York—resulting in the retirement of both from the exercise of their Episcopal offices. Bishop De Lancey sought to be fair to each, and in doing so incurred the censure of some for what they deemed unwarranted support of the two men. Certainly he failed to convict them, in his mind or speech, of the guilt with which they were charged, though he admitted there was “much to condemn as imprudent, foolish, and likely to be misunderstood and misinterpreted to the injury of the Church.”²¹

An annoying circumstance occurred in 1848 through an attempt to establish a diocesan branch of the “Evangelical Knowledge Society.”²² The general organization was effected under the leadership of the Bishop of Virginia in 1847 and was intended as a rival to the “Sunday School Union” which Bishop De Lancey had been instrumental in founding in 1826. The new association was on a strict party basis. Disturbed by the attempt to find for it a place in Western New York, Bishop De Lancey issued a Pastoral Letter, May 5 1848, in which he said:

I perceive this morning, in the *Episcopal Recorder*, of Philadelphia, a printed circular calling for a meeting to be held in St. Luke's Church, Rochester, on the 11th of May, “to organize an auxiliary in the diocese to the Protestant Episcopal Society for the Promotion of Evangelical Knowledge” It has been sent, I understand, to many of the clergy and laity in the diocese, though not to me. . . . As Bishop of the Diocese, I deem it my duty to say to you that this, as I understand it, is an attempt to form a Diocesan Society—without previous consultation with the

²¹Hayes: “Diocese of Western New York,” p. 174.

²²Hayes: “Diocese of Western New York,” p. 181.

parish vestries, the Standing Committee, the Convention of the diocese, or the Bishop—with the best judgment I can give to this project, I am bound, frankly and affectionately, to say that I cannot but regard it as an irregular, needless and distracting measure and, however undesigned to do so, yet calculated to rivet a party character on the diocese . . . and to provoke and promote discussion and conflicts, rather than to advance unity, harmony and peace. In this view I cannot sanction it.²³

The meeting in Rochester was held as scheduled, but the movement did not prosper. It soon disappeared altogether for want of support.

The Bishop's opposition to the Evangelical Knowledge Society in Western New York was in keeping with his general objection to voluntary associations for the performance of work which he held to belong to the constituted authorities and agents of the diocese. An attempt, in 1864, to organize a voluntary "Society for the Relief of Widows and Orphans of Clergy" was likewise discountenanced by him and consequently abandoned. He believed such undertakings should be under the authority of the Diocesan Convention. Even Convocations of the clergy received no authorization from him, though he attended them occasionally.

Bishop De Lancey was the first to introduce in the General Convention (1850) a resolution proposing Provinces. The idea had been advanced by Bishop White in his pamphlet of 1782—"The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered," and by the Rev. Dr. Hale, President of Hobart College, in a leaflet arguing for the division of the original Diocese of New York. Bishop De Lancey's resolution was laid on the table, was considered in 1853 and 1856, and then was laid on the table indefinitely. The proposition was renewed by the Diocese of New York in 1865 and was a subject for deliberation at meetings of the General Convention many years afterward, but was not finally adopted until 1913. In the meantime, two substitute institutions of the Church—Federate Councils and Missionary Councils—were authorized, but upon trial were found inadequate to the needs of the Church.²⁴

In 1849 Bishop De Lancey addressed "A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Western New York . . . on Religious Training," it being the second charge of his Episcopate. He described "Two systems of the process of religious education—excitement and training." He set forth the latter as the system of common sense,

²³"*Diocese of Western New York*," by C. W. Hayes, 1904, pp. 182-183.

²⁴"*Diocese of Western New York*," by C. W. Hayes, 1904, p. 203 ff. Also *Constitution and Canons Governing the Protestant Episcopal Church, Annotated*, by E. A. White, 1924, p. 833 ff.

of the Church and of the Gospel. In something more than fifty pages he urged for the education of children the application of religious training by the agency of Sunday Schools, by catechising, by personal intercourse and friendly conversation, and by parochial schools. He had recommendations for the education of youths and adults—all tending to the cultivation of a devotional character.

In 1857 the Bishop addressed a Pastoral Letter to the laity on "Parish Duties." It was to serve as "A Guide to Wardens and Vestrymen." The letter was copyrighted and published by the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union and Church Book Society." The copy in the hands of the writer of this article is of the second edition and appeared in 1862.

We have referred to Dr. De Lancey's visit abroad, in 1835, on account of his health. In 1852 the House of Bishops appointed Bishop De Lancey and Bishop McCoskry (of Michigan) to attend the concluding services of the jubilee of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Bishop De Lancey was accompanied by Mrs. De Lancey, by the Rev. J. V. Van Ingen, of Rochester, and by the Rev. Walter Ayrault, of Auburn. On arriving at London they were received by several dignitaries of the Church of England and escorted to Fulham Palace. The two Bishops attended the Jubilee Service at Westminster Abbey. The Bishop's report, made to the Diocesan Convention, contains a long list of functions attended, places visited, sermons preached, receptions and entertainments during his stay.²⁵ At Oxford, on June 21st, in the presence of a large number of "Bishops, Noblemen, Clergymen, Masters, Tutors and Fellows, Graduates and Under-graduates, we were presented, without, on our part, any previous knowlege of the movement, with a Silver-gilt Alms Basin, of beautiful design and workmanship, for the American Church." The "Gold Salver" is the alms basin used at meetings of the General Convention.

On this visit Bishop De Lancey visited Scotland as the guest of the Primus of the Church of Scotland, and joined with the Bishop of Winchester in the ordination of nine deacons and fourteen priests, which he believed "was probably the first time that an English and an American Bishop had united in the act of ordination." He visited Windsor Castle, the Archbishop of York, the Rev. John Keble, and the Primate of All Ireland. In Dublin he met Thomas Parnell. He was greatly impressed with the strength of the "movement toward the Church of England on the part of the Roman Catholics in the western and other parts of Ireland." It was claimed that within five years sixty thousand Roman Catholics had severed themselves from

²⁵"*The Mission of the Jubilee*," by Bishop De Lancey. Curtiss and White, Utica, N. Y.

their Roman connections and joined, most of them, the Church of England.

While in England the Bishop and Mrs. De Lancey found opportunity to visit relatives—members of the De Lancey and Heathcote families—in Hampshire and at Malvern.

The Bishop made a third trip to Europe in 1858. His health was failing and the Diocesan Convention adopted a resolution requesting the Bishop to take a vacation, assessing the parishes \$1,500.00 for his expenses. He and Mrs. De Lancey sailed November 24th and did not return until midsummer, 1859. His visit was quiet and uneventful. He participated in few church or social functions. He manifested much interest in St. Aidan's College, Birkenhead, as affording suggestions for his contemplated Diocesan Training School at Geneva, N. Y., which he opened the following year. He visited his ancestral home in Caen, Normandy, and Verberie in Picardy.²⁶

The Bishop's failing health was occasioned, in part at least, by two accidents. In May, 1845, he was thrown from a carriage on his way to make a visitation at Bethany, Genesee County. He suffered injuries which disabled him a long time and, it is believed, he never fully recovered from the shock. He met with his second accident, in 1861, on the streets of New York, where he was struck and thrown to the pavement by the pole of an omnibus. Again he was disabled several months.

In spite of the accidents and a general weakening of his physical constitution, the Bishop continued in the full performance of the duties of his office as head of the diocese. The concluding years of his Episcopate were those of the Civil War. His course was that of a patriot. Throughout his ministry he had conscientiously refrained from political activity and, as Bishop, had urged his clergy to do the same. He held that it is the duty of the ministry "by example, precept and persuasion to allay, not to provoke, the irritations of party and the evils of such conflicts, so far as truth, duty and the interests of Christ's Kingdom will allow. For myself, I have never even voted at an election."²⁷

One may well be surprised at his failure to cast his ballot in a democratic form of government, but he cannot question the patriotism that was deep-seated in Bishop De Lancey's life and that found expression in 1862 in his Convention address:

We have in this diocese discountenanced party, political discussions of State questions, in her pulpits and her Conventions, as inappropriate to the true objects of the sanctuary and the synod. No political action is needed here. But in

²⁶"*Diocese of Western New York*," by C. W. Hayes, 1904, p. 228.

²⁷*Diocesan Journal*, 1856, p. 46.

prayers for her safety, in contributions for her defense, in sacrifices for her rescue, in offerings of counsel, life and treasure for her preservation, we stand side by side with our fellow citizens of every name and faith throughout the land, in the deep conviction that no form of government has ever been framed by man so favorable to the security, labour and expansion of the Church of God as the government established by the Constitution of these United States.²⁸

As we began, so we end this account of the active career of Bishop De Lancey with the mention of some of his personal gifts and characteristics, especially those that came out in the course of his Episcopate. They are set forth in an article that appeared in the "Church Journal" and that is cited by the Rev. Robert Bolton in his *History of the County of Westchester*. We quote from the history:

He was one of the men whom nature had marked out for a ruler among his fellows. With sound principles, earnest devotion, personal gravity and spotless purity of life, he possessed a clearness of head, a keen knowledge of human nature, and a coolness, caution, readiness and boldness, which all combined in making him a successful Bishop. His skill in debate was remarkable, and was fully equalled by his mastery of all the resources of parliamentary tactics, either for carrying a measure which he favored, or defeating one to which he was opposed. His vigilance and unflinching tenacity were fully on a par with his other qualities; and yet his courtesy and gentlemanly bearing, together with a pleasant touch of humor, so lubricated the friction of every contest, that no undue heat remained on either side when the struggle was over. No higher testimony could be given to the manner in which he discharged his high office than the fact of great and steady growth in his diocese, together with a maintenance of an internal harmony, unity and peace, such as no one of our dioceses has been able to equal, much less surpass. . . . A Bishop more sagacious, more steady, more true in laying the foundations of the Church, like a wise master-builder, we never expect to see.²⁹

Plainly, the "Model Diocese" owed its reputation and title, principally, to a model Bishop.

In 1864, after giving to the Diocesan Convention an account of his labors for the year which showed many interruptions because of illness, the Bishop said:

After the examination and opinion of my physicians, my own experience and observation, and the uncertain

²⁸*Diocesan Journal*, 1862, p. 54.

²⁹"*History of the County of Westchester, N. Y.*," by Robert Bolton, Vol. I, pp. 489-490.

operation of the hazardous disease which is said to affect me, I deem it my duty, on reflection and prayer, after the frequent and long-established practice of the Church in this country, to ask the aid of an assistant in my office, to be appointed at this Convention.³⁰

The "hazardous disease" was weakness of the heart.³¹ The Convention, with regret, acquiesced in the Bishop's request and, after due process of ecclesiastical law, elected the Rev. Arthur Cleveland Coxe, D.D., to be Assistant Bishop. He was consecrated in Trinity Church, Geneva, N. Y., January 4, 1865.

The last public act of Bishop De Lancey was in connection with the consecration of the newly elected assistant. On account of his feebleness he was robed at his home and taken directly to the sanctuary of Trinity Church.

On April 4, 1865, he suffered a series of violent spasms of the heart. He died the next morning.

The burial service was said at Trinity Church, Geneva, on Tuesday in Holy Week, after which the remains were taken to New York and placed overnight in Calvary Church, under guard of Western New York students pursuing studies at the General Theological Seminary. On Good Friday, April 14, the body was interred in the family plot at Heathcote Hill, Mamaroneck, N. Y. There it remained until 1907, when it was brought back to Geneva, N. Y. It lies, with that of Mrs. De Lancey, under the altar of St. Peter's Church, which had been erected to his memory.³²

³⁰*Diocesan Journal*, 1864, p. 44.

³¹"*Diocese of Western New York*," by C. W. Hayes, 1904, p. 250.

³²The writer gratefully acknowledges valuable information received from two granddaughters of Bishop De Lancey, now living in Buffalo, N. Y.—the Misses Margaret and Emily Rochester.

SEABURY-WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY: A HISTORY*

PART I. SEABURY DIVINITY SCHOOL

*By the Rt. Rev. Frank Arthur McElwain, D.D.,
Bishop of Minnesota*

IN the summer of 1850, James Lloyd Breck left Nashotah for the new territory of Minnesota. Doubtless part of his original plan for the new Associate Mission was to establish a school for the training of clergy as had been done at Nashotah. But both Bishop Kemper and his successor at Nashotah, the Rev. A. B. Cole, objected to this on the grounds of unnecessary duplication. As a consequence, after establishing work in St. Paul and holding services as an itinerant missionary in various places in the territory, Breck decided to work as a missionary among the Ojibway Indians at Gull Lake. Here he remained until 1857, when the widespread sale of liquor in that territory brought about violent drunkenness which resulted in the closing of the Mission.

In the spring of 1854 the town site of Faribault was surveyed and plotted. By 1856 there were a score of houses within its limits. Alexander Faribault was a French Indian and although a devout Roman Catholic, was of immeasurable help to the Church for many years. In 1856, a few days after the Primary Convention of the Diocese, Bishop Kemper, who had presided, made a journey accompanied by Mr. Wilcoxson, a member of the Mission. Mr. Wilcoxson had preached at Faribault July 27th, 1856, and now he made a visitation there with Bishop Kemper on September 29th. There is no record of any further services held in Faribault until October 1st, 1857. At this time the Rev. Solon W. Manney was appointed missionary there and the ground is considered occupied by the Mission from this date.

With the break-up of the Chippeway Mission, Mr. Breck returned to his original idea for educational work. Immediately after

**The material in this history of Seabury Divinity School was taken largely from a thesis entitled "Old Seabury," written by the Rev. Miller M. B. Sale, B.D., Seabury-Western, 1935.*

the Convention of 1857, with the Diocese organized and the possibility of another to take over the work of Bishop Kemper, the Mission pushed forward its plans. With the Rev. Solon W. Manney and the Rev. Mr. Peake, Mr. Breck visited several places in an effort to locate the best points for the Mission. From the first, Faribault seemed the logical place. It was the center for several growing towns and the work could be carried on from this point for all Southern Minnesota. Work was to begin in the spring; meanwhile Mr. Breck had Mr. Manney appointed missionary there, while he went East to procure funds for his new work. The original plan was for Mr. Manney to stay in Faribault as an instructor in the Divinity Department of the, as yet, nebulous schools. However, as Mr. Breck returned with the Rev. David P. Sanford, of Brooklyn, N. Y., and Miss Mary J. Mills, of Troy, N. Y., it was decided that the Rev. Mr. Manney should retain his position as chaplain at Fort Ripley for a time. That post paid two thousand a year and money was necessary for the new Mission. Three young men came with Breck; they were to enter the preparatory department with a view to becoming candidates for Holy Orders. Beside each name there is a bit of comment written by the candid Registrar at a later date:

The first, a native of Ireland, "came with Dr. Breck. Intended for reformation and divinity. Certainly did not react the latter, doubtful if he did the former, left in '61 and enlisted."

The second "came with Dr. Breck. Like the above in many ways. The requirements of Dr. Sanford's class-room too much for him. Left after one year."

The third, George Barnhart, a Canadian, "Teacher in preparatory department and student of theology for about one year. Left on account of ill health and died in Canada, 1861, a noble character."

Back in Faribault, Mr. Breck began arrangements for the future work. A meeting of citizens was called for May 15th; Mr. A. J. Tanner was appointed Chairman and O. F. Perkins, Secretary. It must have been a stirring day in that frontier town. Mr. Breck laid before the meeting the plans and purposes of the Mission and told them of the sites which had been selected. Alexander Faribault, one of the proprietors of the town, with Mr. Fowler, gave grounds on the east side of the Straight River in the upper town for the College or male department (now occupied by Shattuck School). The Female Seminary was to be located in the lower town west of the public square. The construction of the Seminary building was to be put under contract within ten days and an Episcopal Church was

to be erected within a short time. This, as had been the Nashotah Mission and the Christ Church project, was to be an "adventure of faith." But practically enough a committee was appointed at the end of Mr. Breck's stirring address to solicit subscriptions. Messrs. R. D. Mott, Skinner Levi Nutting, and J. B. Wheeler were to push forward the work.

An article in the village paper of May 26th, 1858, "The Episcopal University at Fairbault in Charge of the Associate Mission of Minnesota," gives excerpts from Mr. Breck's address:

"The male . . . will be a boarding establishment, in primary, academical, and collegiate courses.

"To this department youth and young men in the town will always have access whilst boarding at home.

"The Female department will be open to young children of either sex and young ladies, and it is hoped that it will grow into a seminary for those from abroad.¹

A small mission school was opened at once, June 3, 1858, in rented rooms over the store of Messrs. Faribault and Young. There were fifteen pupils, the teachers were the Rev. D. P. Sanford, Miss Mary J. Mills, and Miss Mary J. Leigh. This was known as the "Faribault Episcopal Institute of the Bishop Seabury University," for the Rev. Mr. Sanford had already suggested the name of the first American Bishop as a fitting one for the "University." The building which the school later occupied was used both as the school and as the church. The parish, the Church of the Good Shepherd, was organized October 26, 1858, with the Rev. Mr. Sanford as Rector.

Mr. George C. Tanner and Mr. S. D. Hinman were the first candidates for Orders. They worked in the parish school and studied with Mr. Breck and Mr. Sanford.

This first building of the Bishop Seabury Mission was opened Sunday, August 22, 1858. It was plain wood, boards and batten, in the "early pointed Minnesota style." An appropriate discourse was delivered by the Rev. Ezra Jones of St. Peter, on "The Connection of Sound Learning and True Religion." Mr. Breck gave an address thanking the citizens for their liberality and predicting far-reaching influence for the embryo "University."

The first school year closed August 17, 1859, with anniversary services and appropriate addresses by the Hon. H. T. Wells of St. Paul and the Rev. D. B. Knickerbacker (later Bishop of Indiana) of Minneapolis.

As we have seen before, the members of the Mission had a splendid sense of the dramatic. They made the most of it now. The pupils

¹*Scrap Book, St. Mark's Church, Minneapolis.*

of the school marched in procession up to the forest-covered bluffs on the east of the river, one hundred sixty-one pupils, the "faculty," the guests, and the clergy, and there on the grounds of the "Mission House on the Hill," Mr. Breck's home, and the future site of Seabury Hall, they listened to the prophecy of the future greatness of their school. All about them were scattered the tipi of the Sioux, before them stood the tiny shack which many Seabury men remember, but which was destroyed by fire some years ago.

The Missionary Papers of the Associate Mission now began to appear. In the first of these printed letters is the prospectus of the year 1859-60, showing a Juvenile, Primary, High School, College (unorganized) and Divinity School. Two candidates for Holy Orders were matriculated and three members of the High School with Orders in view were made members of the Mission household. The Rev. Solon W. Manney now gave up his army chaplaincy to become Instructor in Divinity. He was an excellent and versatile scholar, with a clear, logical mind, and admirably equipped to be, as he was for several years, a Divinity School in himself. He arrived at the Mission with his family on May 23, 1859, and was until 1864 the only full professor. He taught the men in all subjects, except as he was assisted by Mr. Breck, who instructed in the Prayer Book and Liturgics. Mr. Breck was the general Missionary and directed the mission work of the young men in the outlying stations, while he carried on the work of correspondent, so necessary to the life of the schools. The daily routine was much the same as that of the former Mission. As the students in divinity were busy teaching during the day, they necessarily recited at the close of the school session. Mr. Breck met his class at the quiet hour of six in the morning, when he was usually free from interruption. The plan of student work continued for some years. To add to the other work of the Mission, Mrs. Breck, in her enthusiasm for Indian work, induced Mr. Breck to build Andrew's Hall next to his own dwelling. It was named in honor of the first Missionary to the Five Nations, but frequently in after years it is called St. Andrew's Hall by persons evidently not familiar with the tradition. In 1859, several Indian children from the Chippeway tribes were brought there to live and not long after a number of Sioux. It was a splendid idea to bring these two tribes of hereditary enemies together in the same household. They managed peaceably, but unfortunately the restraints of civilization were too great, the mortality was so high that the whole project had to be dropped; but the education of the Indians continued an important part of the Seminary life.

Seabury's first ordination was that of the faithful Enmegahbowh to the Diaconate July 3, 1859, by Bishop Kemper. He was added

to the clergy list of the Mission with work around the Lake of the Gull, where he served for many years. The convention of 1859, meeting in St. Paul's Church, St. Paul, on June 29th, had elected Henry Benjamin Whipple, Rector of the Free Church of the Holy Communion in Chicago, formerly a missionary in the South, Bishop of the Diocese. He was consecrated in St. James Church, Richmond, Virginia. The presiding Bishop was Bishop Kemper. The first service of the Bishop within the diocese was held November 10, 1859, at Wabasha, where he preached and baptized an infant. It was at this service that the Bishop met Solomon S. Burleson, the father of the late Bishop Burleson of South Dakota, sometime Assistant to the Presiding Bishop. The story of the meeting at Wabasha, of Mr. Burleson's entering the Church and becoming a member of the class of 1866 at Seabury, is delightfully told in Bishop Burleson's biography of his father, so long a missionary priest in Western Minnesota.

The new Bishop plunged at once into the problems which confronted him, but it was not until February, 1860, that the Bishop decided upon Faribault as his residence. The work there had been well begun, but it imperatively required the presence and guiding hand of the Bishop. At the time of his February visitation, a committee of citizens waited upon Bishop Whipple and invited him to make Faribault his home. They pledged him \$1,168 and several lots of land toward the erection of an Episcopal residence. Mr. Alexander Faribault gave five acres as a site for this purpose. In March the Bishop concluded arrangements; early in May he, with his family, arrived and took up residence in Faribault, which was his home until his death, September 16, 1901. His first concern was to secure a better and more permanent organization, a corporation formed under the laws of the State. A copy of the Articles of Incorporation in the records of the Board of Trustees is a duplicate of the original which was destroyed by fire. It begins:

May 22, 1860	}	We, Henry Benjamin Whipple,
State of Minnesota		
County of Rice		

James Lloyd Breck, Solon W. Manney and E. Steele Peake do hereby certify that we have associated ourselves together as a body politic, under and by virtue of the statute in such case made and provided, by the corporate name of "The Bishop Seabury Mission" located at the town of Faribault, in the County of Rice, and State of Minnesota.

The object of this association is declared to be the diffusion of Religion and Learning according to the Principles of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.²

²*Records of Trustees of the Bishop Seabury Mission, Faribault, Minnesota.*

The above were the first Board of Trustees, the Bishop was *ex-officio* the President, Mr. Breck was made Secretary, and Mr. Manney, Treasurer. The idea of the Associate Mission was broadened and the incorporation provided for the addition of lay trustees. The real estate was transferred from Mr. Breck's name to "The Bishop Seabury Mission." It consisted of the frame chapel, three lots, the residence of Mr. Manney, Mr. Breck's residence, "The Mission House on the Hill," and fifteen acres on the bluff where Seabury Hall was afterwards built, of which Alexander Faribault gave five acres and ten were purchased, and twenty acres of the present site of Shattuck School. N. P. Paquin, Felix Paquin, and D. F. Faribault had each given a share of the latter and a portion had been purchased with money given by the Misses Edwards of New Haven, Connecticut, who were always interested patrons of the school. In those days the thick forests along the bluffs were broken only by Indian trails and an occasional tipi of a friendly Sioux or Chippewa. The frontier was still very new, but the vision of the future was taking definite form.

George C. Tanner, one of the first students in divinity, was ordered Deacon September 16, 1860, and Samuel Dutton Hinman was made Deacon September 20, 1860. Mr. Tanner remained in Faribault teaching, and Mr. Hinman took charge of the Mission of St. John the Beloved Disciple at the lower Sioux agency. This was the first graduating class of old Seabury.

The work of the next six years can be gleaned only from a few outside sources, as all records were destroyed in the fire at the time Mr. Breck's home, "The Mission House on the Hill," burned in March, 1866. In 1858 to 1860 the candidates had lived at the Mission House or in the tiny cottage built for a dormitory, and from 1860 to 1864 they lived in private homes in "lower town."

On July 16th, 1862, Bishop Whipple laid the cornerstone of the Bishop's Church at Faribault. At the suggestion of Bishop Coxé it was named "The Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour." Bishop Whipple writes, "It was my hope that we might build up schools around the Cathedral, making it a common centre. I felt that our first building should be a House of Prayer in honor of the Triune God. On July 17th I laid the cornerstone of Seabury Divinity Hall. . . . I knew that in my day our schools, missions, and works of charity would require all our means, and I did not think we could found an English Cathedral in a western diocese." This was the first Cathedral of the American Church erected in the United States.

The new Seabury Hall stood west of the present Shattuck Hall

³"*Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate*," p. 187.

and was of native stone. The divinity students began to occupy the Hall about Christmas, 1864. The Rev. Elisha S. Thomas, afterwards Bishop of Kansas, had moved to Faribault the preceding October to take the chair of Old Testament Exegesis and Hebrew. He took up his residence, with his family, in the Hall and was in charge of the household. The Mission students, as those in preparatory work for Holy Orders were termed, lived here, as did George P. Huntington, one of the teachers, and the candidates. Those in preparatory school, however, attended classes in town. Aside from the building, everything was in crudest form. All the grounds were heavily timbered and a single plank foot-walk was the only means of communication with the town. The river, then several times larger than now, was frequently in flood and the two bridges would be covered for days. At such times a rope ferry was the only means of passage.

The Bishop in his Council address for the year 1864 said in part:

"By the mercy of God we have been able to erect, at a cost of ten thousand dollars, our first Divinity Hall. It was a gift of a few individuals who wished their names unknown, but whose reward is, I trust, in heaven. It is built of stone, three stories high, with a front of seventy-five feet, and the work is of the most substantial character. We have also purchased a valuable library for the use of the institution. It had originally belonged to Kemper College, and was by them sold and became the property of St. Paul's College, Palmyra, Missouri, who again sold it to private individuals to liquidate debts. It was unexpectedly offered to myself and I felt that it was proper to appeal to the Church to aid me in the purchase."⁴

There were further additions to the library at the time of the Bishop's visit to England in 1864-65. Among other interesting books were two given by John Henry Newman.⁵ They are two large folios of the Works of Gregory Nazianzen. On the inside of the front cover is a German bookplate above which is a small plate about the size of a postage stamp on which is printed "Fathers J. H. N.," and below the plate is written in Newman's hand, "Bought for me in Germany by Pusey, 1827." In his Council address for 1866, the Bishop said, "The Bishop Seabury Divinity Hall is complete, furnished, and has a valuable library of 4,500 volumes. The Lord Bishop of Chester, Rev. Dr. Jacobson, the parish of St. Giles, Professor Goldwin Smith, and a few other friends at Oxford, presented me with valuable copies

⁴*Journal of the Diocese of Minnesota, 1864.*

⁵*This is the statement of Bishop Whipple, "Lights and Shadows," p. 198. I question the accuracy of the statement, however, as Newman made his submission to Rome October 9, 1845, and became a Cardinal in 1879.*

of the works of English Divines." One of the valuable sets which came to the library at this time was a facsimile of Tischendorf's discovery, "The Codex Sinaiticus." It was a gift of the Emperor of Russia through General Hiram H. Sibley. General Sibley had for thirty years been chief factor for the Northwest Fur Company and was much interested in Bishop Whipple's work with and for the Indians. His home at Mendota, just under the shelter of Fort Snelling, is one of the historic spots for early Church history as well as secular history in Minnesota. General Sibley became President of the Western Union Telegraph Company and was invited by the Czar to visit Russia and confer about the "overland telegraph." The General inquired of Bishop Whipple what gift he should secure for him, and the facsimile was asked for. General Sibley was refused by the Minister of Public Instruction on the grounds that he could not give the work to an American College. On the following day, however, the Czar sent it as a personal gift to the General, who gave it to Seabury.

We have seen that in 1864 the Rev. Elisha Smith Thomas was appointed Warden of Seabury and Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis. In 1866 the Rev. Samuel Buel, D.D., became Professor of Ecclesiastical History. On July 26, 1866, the degree of Bachelor of Divinity was conferred for the first time by the Bishop Seabury Mission, the candidates being the first three graduates, George Clinton Tanner and Samuel D. Hinman of the class of 1860 and George Brayton Whipple of the class of 1863. The same degree was also conferred upon Solomon S. Burleson, Samuel Wardlaw, and William J. Johnstone, who had pursued their studies in part at Seabury.

At a meeting of the trustees on that date, Bishop Whipple, Rev. Messrs. James Lloyd Breck, S. W. Manney, E. Steele Peake, E. G. Gear, D. B. Knickerbacker, the Hon. H. T. Welles, Judge E. T. Wilder, and General M. J. T. Dana, U. S. A., attended, and resolved that some effort be made to fill in the gaps in the records lost in the fire when the "Mission House on the Hill" burned in March, 1866. They also adopted uniforms for the Grammar School Boys and moved that Professors, Resident Graduates, and Divinity students wear cap and gown at examinations, Chapel Exercises, and Divine Services.

Another resolution of interest was:

"Resolved: That students of the Mission who have the ministry in view be required to engage in manual labor or teaching under the direction of the Dean, two hours per day, and Candidates for Holy Orders one hour per day, the labor of the Saturday being counted double of the other days."

This had always been a rule of the Mission and may answer the question of why so many of the early applicants fell away. Perhaps they learned their deficiency, in learning or in piety, or perhaps that "thorny" saint, Dr. Breck, pressed the work requirements too severely.

Dr. Breck had lived at Seabury Hall since the Tuesday morning of Holy Week, 1866, when the Mission House burned, and apparently he had not always agreed with the policy of Mr. Dobbin, for on April 18th, 1867, we find the trustees asking Dr. Breck to cooperate with the Rector, and Mr. Dobbin and Dr. Manney were appointed to "Define the Rector's Rights."

On November 9th of the previous year, after much correspondence with the Bishop, Dr. Breck was induced by Dr. Manney to turn over as a "loan" to the Seabury Mission \$2,500—left as a legacy to the Associate Mission for use of the mission to the Chippeways.

On February 11, 1867, the trustees resolved: that the Professorship of Ecclesiastical History founded by Mrs. Alice Knill, of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., be known as the Keble Professorship.

The situation at Seabury became more and more difficult and Dr. Breck, having always felt the restraints of civilization and ecclesiastical authority, decided first upon a mission to the Chippeways in Northern Minnesota, then upon an expedition to California. On June 15, 1867, the trustees met. They refused Mr. Cyrus Tillotson, a student in the preparatory department, permission to accompany Dr. Breck on his mission. The mission horse was granted Prof. Thomas for missionary purposes. James Lloyd Breck resigned the trusteeship and all other official relations with the Mission and his resignation was promptly and unanimously accepted. A beautiful, touching, and carefully prepared resolution of regrets follows: Dr. Breck then presented a letter from Mr. Tillotson's father, stating that he was aware of the circumstances and would grant his son permission to accompany Dr. Breck. Permission was then granted by the trustees.

In the following busy days, the first regular graduation exercises of the Divinity department took place; the graduating class was the largest, thus far, in the history of the School. James Dobbin, Thomas Dickey, Enoch Cowan, Joseph Lindholm, and Charles Plummer received the B.D. degree. An Alumni organization was effected, an Alumni prize for the best preparation in Greek was voted, and plans were made for an Alumni scholarship. Trinity Sunday was a notable day for the Church in Minnesota. The five candidates were all ordained to the Diaconate. The presence of Enmegahbowh, the Chippeway deacon, his reverent and impressive reading of a portion of the service, and the departure of Dr. Breck rendered the services of the

day most solemn and effective. Dr. Breck had given seventeen years of his service to the diocese; ten of those he had worked in Faribault. Truly he may be said to be the founder of the educational work of the diocese. He gave the last courageous years of his life to the effort of founding another school at Benicia, California. His work carried on only a short time after his death. Perhaps he lacked associates of the firm, practical sort that William Adams and Solon Manney had been; perhaps Bishop Kip did not see the splendor of his vision as had Bishop Whipple.

As to the Seabury Mission, up to this time little had been accomplished, financially, the Cathedral had been erected and enclosed, Seabury Hall had been built, twenty acres had been added to the domain, and a few thousand dollars had been secured as endowment. The Board of Trustees was now Bishop Whipple, the Rev. Messrs. S. W. Manney, E. G. Gear, D. B. Knickerbacker, E. R. Wells, S. V. McMaster, Samuel Buel and Judge E. T. Wilder, the Hon. H. T. Welles, Luther Dearborn and J. C. N. Cottrell. The Faculty was composed of Bishop Whipple, Pastoral Theology and Pulpit Eloquence; Rev. Dr. Manney, Professor of Divinity; Rev. E. S. Thomas, Greek Exegesis and Hebrew; Rev. Dr. Buel, Ecclesiastical History; Rev. Dr. McMasters of Christ Church, St. Paul, Lecturer in Evidences; and the Rev. E. P. Gray of Shakopee, Lecturer on Church Polity. Dr. Dobbin, Rector of Shattuck, continued for some four years, 1866-1870, as Warden of the Seminary as well.

In 1868 the schools had grown so greatly as to necessitate more room for both living quarters and classrooms. Soon after the arrival of Bishop Whipple in Minnesota, George G. Shattuck, M.D., founder of St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H., and the Church of the Advent, Boston, a lay member of S. S. J. E., donated a considerable tract of land in Illinois to the work of this Mission. There was a consideration that, as the sales were made, one-half of the proceeds were to be paid over to St. James College, Maryland, up to a maximum of \$5,000. The land proved to be coal land and much more valuable than had been expected; the Bishop was able to effect a good deal and realized about \$28,000 for the property. The final deal was made in the spring of 1868, and on April 4, 1868, the trustees asked the Theological Faculty to locate the new Shattuck Hall. On June 24th, the grounds formerly occupied by "The Mission House on the Hill" and Andrew's Hall was set aside as the location of St. Mary's Hall. Shattuck Hall was completed and occupied during the winter of 1868-69. In 1868 a fire-proof stone building was erected near Seabury Hall for a library. The preservation of the books in the fire of 1872 are, of course, due to this measure. A bequest by Mrs.

Lucy C. Phelps of Winsted, Connecticut, paid in part for the library building.

On September 17, 1868, we find the Faculty and Trustees allowing the exemption of students from labor on the grounds. This had been no small part of the training of the men in the old Mission days and its discontinuance is at once a sign of the fast-fading frontier and the changing policy of the school.

On January 19, 1869, the Rev. Solon W. Manney died after a brief illness. For several years he had been the entire Divinity Department and his sound wisdom was an anchor during the times of stress.

On the death of Dr. Manney, Dr. Buel was appointed Professor of Systematic Theology and Dr. Thomas Richey was elected to fill the Keble Professorship of Ecclesiastical History.

On June 7, 1870, the Trustees accepted 200 volumes from Dr. Manney's library, and passed a resolution presenting surplices to the Senior Class. At this meeting there is first mentioned the name of William Jason Gold. He was at that time Rector of Holy Cross Church, Dundas, a church which was served for several years by Ivol Curtis, a member of the last class to enter Old Seabury and one of the Class of '35 of Seabury-Western. Mr. Gold was asked to assist with examinations at Seabury in the year 1870, and was called to be Professor of Exegesis at a salary of \$600 April 24, 1873. His connection with Seabury in the years before he became Dean of Western is one more of the connecting links in the history of the two schools.

On September 10, 1870, the Rev. Elisha L. Thomas resigned the Professorship of Exegesis and Hebrew to become Rector of St. Mark's Church, Minneapolis, and the Rev. Dr. Thomas Richey succeeded to the chair. The following year when Dr. Buel resigned to become Professor of Divinity at the General Seminary, the Rev. Dr. Richey became Warden of Seabury.

On Thanksgiving Day, 1872, all the students, every one in fact, except two or three servants, went to the Cathedral for services. While they worshipped, an overheated stove on the upper floor of Seabury Hall set fire to the building. Fortunately it burned slowly. The effects of Dr. Dobbin and the cadets who were resident there were saved. The seminarians lost most of their books and clothing. There was no fire protection and the interior was so completely burned out that the limestone walls were injured so as to make them unsafe for further use. Perhaps, as Dr. Tanner remarks, "The seeming disaster was a blessing in disguise."⁶ At a meeting of the trustees August 10, 1871, the question of separating Shattuck and Seabury

⁶*History of the Diocese of Minnesota*, p. 280.

had arisen and at that time it was resolved to locate Seabury on the grounds set apart for St. Mary's Hall at a meeting June 24, 1868.

After the fire the Divinity students went to live in a large rented frame building on the bluff between Second and Third Streets on the east side of the river. The cadets were crowded into Shattuck Hall, the School Building and the Laundry. Two of the teachers were housed in the Library. Now if ever was the time to sever the two schools. With the money from the insurance Whipple Hall was erected on the Shattuck campus. The building plans for a new Seabury Hall on the new site, hereafter known as the "Seabury Campus," were drawn by Henry M. Congdon of New York City. At a meeting of the trustees on February 18, 1873, certain lots were conveyed to the Bishop for a "See House" and the contract was let for Seabury Hall to A. H. Hatch and Company, Thomas McCall doing the masonry work. The building when completed in the winter of 1873-74 had cost, with heating plant and furnishings, around \$46,500.

The panic of 1873 added to the perplexities of the Bishop. The new Hall had been financed for the most part by subscription, money could not be had. In addition to Seabury, the trustees had erected a home, at a cost of more than \$8,000, for Dr. Kedney. The Rev. J. Steinfort Kedney had been elected Professor of Systematic Theology in the fall of 1871 on the resignation of Dr. Buel. Dr. Buel was elected to a Professorship at the General Seminary in 1871. The tradition of his disagreements with Dr. Richey linger and one is amused to think that they were again on the same faculty when Dr. Richey also went to General in 1877.

On May 24, 1873, the cornerstone of Seabury Hall was laid by Bishop Whipple in the presence of the schools and the citizens of Fari-bault. The Bishop made a brief address, in which he spoke of the splendid work of Drs. Breck and Manney and the love and loyalty of the townsfolk. The new Seabury Hall was completed and occupied by Warden and students on Thanksgiving Day, 1873, just one year after the fire. The tradition of the Thanksgiving Dinner, at which all the Faculty and students were present, grew out of this. The student body at Western desired to continue this custom if the Seabury men so wished, but the men from old Seabury felt that as the tradition was contrary to the custom here, and really without purpose in the new surroundings, it should be dropped. The Warden at this time was the Rev. George L. Chase, who became Warden in 1871 upon Dr. Richey's resignation of that office. Dr. Chase was Warden until 1884; his health failed and compelled him to take a temporary leave of absence in 1883, from which he never returned. His was a

difficult position at a very trying period of the school's life. He had rare executive power and a delicate tact, which was certainly needed during the nine years of his Wardenship.

In consequence of the disastrous financial panic of '73 a large proportion of the pledges made to the Seabury Hall building fund were never paid. The result was that in 1875 the Mission was in debt almost \$30,000 for building and improvement, with almost no income except the offerings from the Church. It was a serious crisis. The Board of Trustees with two or three generous outsiders came to the rescue. They paid \$15,000 of the indebtedness in cash. The other \$15,000 was raised by the formation of a syndicate composed of several of the trustees, Stephen Jewett and Franklin Steele. This syndicate took over all the lands lying outside of Rice County and advanced the money, thus relieving the situation for the Mission. In speaking of this period, the Bulletin of the Seabury Divinity School says: "That was the year of the great financial panic, and it took great courage for the Bishop to incur the debt of thirty thousand dollars, but he relied upon God, and in a few years the Trustees and a few faithful friends paid off the debt."

Dr. Chase was succeeded in 1884 by the Rev. Francis D. Hoskins, M.A., who was Warden until 1888, when he returned East to go into literary work. In August, 1884, Mrs. A. M. Huntington, formerly Mrs. Shumway, was fatally injured by a fall from a wagon in Colorado. When her will, which she had made the year before, was read, it was found that she had bequeathed the sum of \$300,000 to the Bishop of Minnesota to be used for the Mission. Not all of this was to be used for Seabury, however; \$50,000 was to be used for the erection of a building on the Seabury Campus. This was to be known as Johnston Hall and was a memorial to William S. Johnston, Mrs. Huntington's father. Fifty thousand was to be invested as a perpetual endowment, the income of which was to be used in assisting Divinity students to the extent of \$200 a year each, by way of scholarships, each to be known as the "Clarinda Bartow Johnston Scholarships."

The amount realized from the bequests was considerably less than that named in the will. At first it seemed that the property belonging absolutely to Mrs. Huntington was insufficient to pay the bequest in full. There was a sharp rise in realty values before the estate was settled which really created a surplus. In 1890, Miss Shumway, having married, made a claim for \$124,151.80 as belonging to her under her father's will. After some litigation an amicable settlement was made, in which the claimant accepted \$70,000 to satisfy the claim in full, the Mission thereupon receiving \$255,-

¹*Seabury Divinity School Bulletin, Vol. 10, No. 4, December, 1927.*

901.22 as its share of the estate. The executors had been given seven years in which to settle the estate, but it was the desire of Miss Shumway that the buildings be erected in the lifetime of Bishop Whipple and Dr. Dobbin. The executors therefore waived the limit so far as it related to the buildings. In 1886 the cornerstone of Shumway Hall, Shattuck, was laid. The following year it was completed at a cost of some \$82,000. The erection of Johnston Hall, Seabury, was begun in the spring of 1888 and was completed the following year at a cost of nearly \$42,000.

From 1888 to 1891, the Rev. Charles Luke Wells, B.D., now Dean of and Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Sewanee, was acting Warden. In 1891 the Rev. John Hazen White became Warden. He left the school in 1895 to become Bishop of Indiana. Dr. Wells remained for the year 1892 as Professor of Ecclesiastical History, the Rev. J. McBride Sterrett, author of "Studies in Hegel's Philosophy of Religion," was at that time Professor of Ethics and Apologetics. Dean Wells afterward was a Professor of History at the University of Minnesota, Acting Professor, Harvard University, McGill University, and Boone College, Wuchang, China, and has been Professor of Ecclesiastical History of the University of the South since 1916. From 1899 to 1909 he was Dean of Christ Church Cathedral, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Dr. Sterrett was for twenty years after a Professor of Philosophy at George Washington University, Washington, D. C., and while there published "The Ethics of Hegel" and "The Freedom of Authority."

The Rev. E. Stewart Wilson was Professor of Old and New Testament Exegesis and Hebrew from 1877 to 1905, from which time until his death in 1907 he was Professor Emeritus.

"Of our Instructors in Biblical Learning, the longest in duty was the Rev. E. Stuart Wilson, D.D., learned, wise and profound. Dr. Wilson had been educated in the Presbyterian ministry, a learned body to which this Church has often been indebted. He assisted the Rev. Dr. Breckenridge in his work in Divinity, and he brought to his duty of Instructor in the Old Testament a mature mind, discriminating judgment and a wealth of information which he could command while his physical strength remained. He resigned his position in 1905, after twenty-eight years of faithful service, and was made Professor Emeritus. He entered into rest in 1907."⁸

In September, 1888, the Rev. Charles A. Poole, S.T.D., was elected Associate Professor of Divinity. He filled this office until 1913.

⁸*History of the Diocese of Minnesota, p. 357.*

It was during the period 1896 to 1907 that Charles Lewis Slattery was Dean of the Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour and Lecturer at Seabury. He was afterward Rector of Grace Church, New York, and in 1922 was consecrated Bishop Coadjutor of Massachusetts. He became Bishop in 1927. It is inevitable that he should have left an impress on the hearts and minds of the students in those quiet but busy years at Faribault. His writings both in the field of biography and in devotions are full of rare beauty and consecration. He died in 1930.

The Rev. William Pray Ten Broeck, D.D., became Professor of Ecclesiastical History in 1892 and remained until 1912. He was Priest-in-charge of the little Mission of the Advent, Farmington, Minnesota. Dr. Ten Broeck was greatly beloved by the people of the Advent and there is a large memorial window above the altar in memory of him.

The Chair of Liturgics and Homiletics was endowed in 1892 by the Rev. Dr. Edward C. Bill, a graduate of Seabury, a man of fine intellect and varied acquirements. Just prior to his death, Dr. Bill donated some 2,000 acres of land in Wisconsin to Seabury, the proceeds to be used for scholarships. After his death, his estate being probated in New York State was found to have a bequest of \$50,000 for the foundation of the Professorship of Liturgics and Homiletics. The actual amount coming to Seabury was \$47,500. Thus Dr. Bill has perpetuated his influence in the School he loved so much. His was a rarely beautiful life; patient and persevering, he overcame the obstacle of a serious physical infirmity. He was an "interesting and brilliant preacher, Precentor to the Cathedral, a true missionary, genial in social life, filling many offices, always with satisfaction, "he died before his day"—at least we would have kept him with us a while longer."⁹

The "Edward C. Bill Professorship" was later combined with the "Robert Mains Mason Professorship," a gift of \$20,000 to Bishop Whipple in 1879 by the Misses Mason of Boston, in memory of their father. This was set apart to endow the chair of Old Testament Exegesis. The two endowments are now known as the "Mason-Bill Lectureship in Old Testament and Hebrew," which is held by Allen Diehl Albert, Jr., Ph.D., at Seabury-Western.

In 1895 the Rev. Alford A. Butler was elected Warden of Seabury. Dr. Butler came to the School from Christ Church, Red Wing.

After the retirement of Dr. Butler, Dr. Charles A. Poole, Professor, served for some months as acting Warden. With the fall term, 1905, the Rev. Dr. George H. Davis became Warden. At his death

⁹*History of the Diocese of Minnesota*, p. 357.

in 1907, the Rev. Frank A. McElwain, Professor of Old and New Testament Exegesis, became Warden. In 1911 Mr. McElwain became Dean of the Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour, and in 1912 the Rev. Frederick F. Kramer, Ph.D., D.D., S.T.D., became Warden. He continued in this position until 1932, a period of twenty years, when he retired.

The outstanding event in Dr. Kramer's wardenship was the closing of the old Preparatory Department and the successful establishment of the Seabury-Carleton plan. By this arrangement students were given scholarships at Carleton College where they completed their work for the Bachelor's degree—could if they desired, shorten the necessary time for both college and seminary work by one year.

This plan not only proved attractive and practicable, but it helped raise the standards of preparation for the Church's ministry.

The Rev. Dr. I. P. Johnson, later Bishop of Colorado, and the Rev. Dr. Paul Mathews, afterward Bishop of New Jersey, the Rev. Dr. C. C. Rollit, and the Rev. Dr. F. L. Palmer were among those who served on the Faculty.

Upon the retirement of Dr. F. F. Kramer as Warden and the opening of negotiations to remove Seabury from Faribault, the Rt. Rev. Stephen Edwards Keeler became Dean. The Rev. Victor Edward Pinkham, Instructor in Church History, acted as resident head of the school and Provost.

PART II. WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

By the Rev. Percy Varney Norwood, Ph.D.

In Illinois, as earlier in Ohio, Philander Chase felt the need of a ministry native to the soil and educated in the social environment in which it was to serve. To that end he established Jubilee College on a lordly domain remote from the distractions of city life which he feared; and he took particular care that his new foundation should not, like Kenyon, escape from his patriarchal control. So successful was he in this respect that the real day of Jubilee was limited to the farmer-bishop's lifetime. A decade after Bishop Chase's death his successor, the urban-minded Whitehouse, was urging the removal of the languishing college to Chicago, its theological department to be connected with the Bishop's Church. Two more decades were to pass, however, before this vision could be realized. In the interval the Rt. Rev. William Edward McLaren became Bishop of Illinois and proceeded with the division of the State into three dioceses. In

view of the slight connection between Jubilee and Western, it is fitting that the worn and musty tomes from the old College library should have found a resting-place on the Seminary's shelves.

Bishop McLaren felt the need of a local theological school as strongly as his predecessors. To his diocesan Convention of 1883 he spoke of the matter with deep emotion. His prayer was speedily answered. Dr. Tolman Wheeler, a shrewd but generous Vermonter, who had come to Chicago in 1849 and accumulated a fortune in real estate, had already made substantial gifts to St. James' Church, of which he was a communicant, and to the Cathedral property. Now, December, 1883, he offered Bishop McLaren land on Washington Boulevard near California Avenue, together with \$100,000 for buildings and a further \$100,000 for endowment. Altogether his benefactions to the Seminary amounted to nearly a quarter of a million.

The Seminary was incorporated ". . . especially for the education of fit persons in the Catholic faith in its purity and integrity, as taught in the Holy Scriptures, held by the Primitive Church, summed up in the Creeds, and affirmed by the undisputed General Councils." The Incorporators and first Trustees included the Bishops of Chicago, Fond-du-Lac, Quincy, Springfield, and Indiana; and although the Bishop of Chicago was elected President of the Board, the institution was clearly intended to be regional rather than diocesan in scope. In adopting the name Western, the Incorporators were perhaps expressing the thought that the new Seminary might eventually come to be to the interior what the General Seminary was to the Atlantic Seaboard—a school representative of the whole Church, rather than of any party within it. For the present they preferred excellence to size; the new buildings were designed to accommodate a maximum of thirty students.

For a number of years the policies of the Seminary were dictated by Bishop McLaren as Dean. As yet there was no organized faculty. The Rev. William Jason Gold, D.D., was called from the chair of Classics at Racine College to take charge of instruction and discipline; yet left without proper authority. Deeply devout, sensitive, scholarly, a splendid teacher and a wise counsellor of youth, he was perhaps lacking in administrative talent. The Rev. Francis J. Hall, a former pupil of Dr. Gold at Racine, came from the General Seminary, after his ordination to the diaconate, to assist in teaching. For twenty-eight years, until his return to General as Professor in 1913, Dr. Hall served continuously at Western—at times almost alone—and probably no man contributed so much to mould the character of the institution or the minds of its graduates as the distinguished theologian.

The Seminary opened its doors on St. Michael and All Angels,

1885, with nine students, including Hall and the future Dean DeWitt, both in Senior standing. The daily Eucharist was inaugurated at once—Western men claim it the first in any Anglican seminary—and has been continued ever since. The first year Dr. Gold did most of the routine teaching, with Bishop McLaren giving informal lectures in Theology, the learned Bishop Seymour coming up from Springfield for frequent lectures in Church History, and Mr. Hall tutoring in Hebrew. From time to time prominent Chicago clergymen, like Dr. Clinton Locke and the later Bishop Morrison, were called in for special courses to supplement the regular curriculum. Bishop Seymour continued his teaching-visits for a number of years. In 1886-87 the Rev. F. P. Davenport began his lectures in Canon Law, likewise continued for some years. Bishop McLaren soon turned Dogmatic Theology over to Mr. Hall, who presently added a course in Moral Theology, which he describes as "the first attempt of its kind in the American Church, perhaps in the Anglican Communion." This course was for a while surrendered to Dr. J. J. Elmendorf, but resumed by Dr. Hall on the former's death in February, 1896.

The early nineties were prosperous years for the Seminary. Dr. Gold and Mr. Hall were reinforced on the residential teaching staff by the Rev. Henry R. Neeley, and the Rev. Joseph G. H. Barry came over weekly from Batavia to teach Hebrew and Old Testament. In 1891 the Trustees received from Mr. George Armour the gift of the defunct St. Clement's Mission property, which was subsequently sold and the proceeds (\$40,000) added to the endowment fund. On the removal of Dr. Davenport to Memphis, the Rev. Frederick W. Taylor took his place as lecturer in Canon Law. He retained this position even after he became Bishop of Quincy. Dr. Hall published his useful *Theological Outlines*, and Dr. Elmendorf his *Elements of Moral Theology*, both based upon teaching experience at Western.

During these years the dormitories were filled, the student body of high quality, the instruction thorough and solid—even though the resident teachers were overloaded and poorly paid. Dr. Gold's position was a difficult one, since he had responsibility without full authority. His relations with Bishop McLaren, who all this time had retained the deanship, were clouded by temperamental differences leading to frequent lack of accord. To the Bishop's mind the instructors were merely his deputies. Dr. Hall later likened their status to that of tutors in a private school. Corporate faculty action was impossible; indeed, in the academic sense there was no faculty. When Bishop McLaren at last resigned the deanship, in 1898, Dr. Gold was appointed Warden. At the same time a proposal, strongly favored by a number of the Trustees, to organize a departmental

faculty, met the Bishop's *non possumus* on the ground that the existing endowment was insufficient to maintain professorships. Nor could Dr. McLaren be induced to undertake the raising of additional endowment. He was by now a feeble and disheartened man. Salaries were raised over his protest; then reduced again at his insistence. By Commencement, 1901, finances were in such bad shape that Neeley and Barry were dismissed, the refectory closed, and Dr. Gold's wardenship revoked—all under pressure from the Bishop. This drastic action was almost a death-blow to the Seminary under the existing regime. Dr. McLaren's all too personal control, coupled with his defeatist attitude, had laid it low. Yet Gold and Hall carried on bravely with some occasional help from neighboring clergy. Shortly after the opening of the academic year, 1902-03, Dr. Gold became seriously ill, and on January 11, 1903, the end came. Dr. Hall continued the school with a single assistant.

At this nadir point the energetic and beloved Bishop Anderson entered the dismal picture. The problem of reorganization was taken resolutely in hand. The deanship was offered to the present Bishop of New Jersey, to the Rev. Stuart L. Tyson, to the present Dean of General Seminary—all three declined. During the year 1904-05 the Seminary was "technically closed," pending the election of a dean and the formation of a proper faculty. Dr. Hall remained in residence to coach a few men who came from outside.

Toward the end of this year of quiescence a dean was secured in the person of one of the Seminary's own first graduates, the Rev. William Converse DeWitt, successful Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Chicago. A faculty was organized in accordance with a scheme drafted by the systematic mind of Dr. Hall. Dean DeWitt took Pastoral Theology and Homiletics; Dr. Hall, sole survivor of the old regime, was elected Professor of Dogmatic Theology; Dr. Davenport, Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Canon Law; Dr. Olaf Toffteen, Professor of Old Testament and Hebrew. On St. Michael and All Angels, 1905—precisely twenty years after its first opening—Western Seminary entered upon the second stage of its career.

Dean DeWitt was a man of military bearing and temperament, impatient of everything slack or casual, generously endowed with executive ability. With characteristic briskness he threw himself into his new task. His immediate problem was to increase endowments and complete a strong faculty. A bequest of approximately \$50,000 from the Rt. Rev. Charles Reuben Hale, Bishop of Cairo, established the Hale sermon and lectures, first delivered in 1906 and 1907, respectively. The wise administration of this fund has enabled Western to make a notable contribution to theological literature.

Mrs. Lydia Gold Hibbard provided, at an initial cost of some \$15,000, the splendid Egyptian library bearing her name. The same gracious lady is remembered for other benefactions to the Seminary. Bishop Seymour left Western his library of 6,000 volumes and \$3,000 for its maintenance. Somewhat earlier about 400 rare and valuable books—largely liturgical—were received from Bishop Hale. A Pastoral Theology endowment of over \$27,000 was raised as a memorial to Mr. James Lawrence Houghteling, founder of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew. A Dean's residence was built in 1908. A number of other special funds were accumulated under Dr. DeWitt's adroit and tireless management. As soon as scholarship resources permitted the "West Point plan" was inaugurated, whereby the Seminary undertook to bear the entire cost of educating men qualified to meet its exacting standards, while expecting those financially able to do so to contribute something toward operating expenses. It was Dean DeWitt's firm conviction that this is the ideal solution of the financial side of theological education, since it affords strict control over the student's time and conduct.

In the fall of 1908 the Rev. Stuart L. Tyson was elected to the chair of New Testament. A year later he was succeeded by the Rev. Charles Smith Lewis. In 1911 Dr. Burton Scott Easton came from Nashotah to take the department. When Dr. Easton went to the General Seminary in 1919, the Rev. A. Haire Forster was called from Trinity College, Toronto.

In 1909 the Rev. Marshall Bowyer Stewart became Professor of Ecclesiastical History. His successors to the present have been the Rev. Leicester C. Lewis and the Rev. Percy V. Norwood.

On Dr. Toffteen's resignation, in 1910, Dr. Samuel A. B. Mercer took the Old Testament chair, filling it with distinction until 1922. Dr. Hall was called to the General Seminary in 1913, when the Rev. Theodore B. Foster assumed the Professorship of Dogmatic Theology.

Western was something of a pioneer in offering courses in Christian Sociology. Dean Sumner of the Cathedral began instruction in this field in 1911. The department was taken over a few years later by the eminent Chicagoan, Dr. Graham Taylor, who remained a member of the faculty until the Seminary suspended operations in Chicago.

The old location on Washington Boulevard, on the outskirts of the city when the Seminary opened, was becoming increasingly undesirable as years passed. Educational developments cried out for a university connection. By 1923 the Trustees were faced with a temporary cessation of income from the Wheeler property (the original endowment) on Wacker Drive, due to large-scale street alterations. At the same time Northwestern University and Garrett

Biblical Institute made generous proffer of land in Evanston in close proximity to their buildings. In view of all this, it seemed expedient to dispose of the old property and embark upon an energetic campaign for money to build in Evanston and to secure an adequate endowment. At Commencement, 1923, the Seminary suspended academic work on the West Side with hopes of an early reopening in its new fabric at Evanston. The Dean opened an office in the "Loop" to direct the campaign; the three resident professors were "farmed out" to Bishop Anderson for mission work until the new buildings should be ready or occupancy. An interval of at most three years was contemplated; that it ran to five years was due in the main to a local situation in Evanston, difficult to explain in brief, of which the Seminary was the innocent victim.

PART III. SEABURY-WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

By the Rev. Frederick Clifton Grant, Th.D.

The delay in erecting the new Seminary buildings in Evanston was occasioned by a recently adopted zoning ordinance which apparently prohibited the erection of dormitories in Class A neighborhoods. The Seminary, of course, had taken title to the land, with the intention of erecting academic buildings, including dormitories, long before the ordinance was adopted. The Seminary had launched a financial campaign for the purpose of raising money with which to build upon this land. The case was appealed twice to the State Supreme Court, which each time sustained the Seminary's claim to the right to build within this zone.

At last, the State Supreme Court, having, in a careful and most unqualified statement, defined the Seminary's rights, a beginning was made in July, 1928. The first buildings to be erected were Wheeler Hall, which contains the offices, class rooms, and three suites for tutors or instructors, and the Robert B. Gregory Memorial Library. These, together with the Anderson Memorial Chapel, form the East unit. Almost simultaneously, work was begun upon the West unit, built about another open quadrangle, but facing north rather than east. These buildings are the William Horlick Refectory, gift of the late William Horlick of Racine, Wisconsin; Chauncey Keep Hall, erected by the late Chauncey Keep of Chicago, a dormitory for students; and the Angus and Lucille Hibbard Hall, which the donors gave in honor of Dean William C. DeWitt and in gratitude for his twenty-three years of service to the Seminary. The two units were

completed in the year 1930, with the erection of Francis T. A. Junkin Hall, the large east dormitory which also contains the Common Room and is the gift of Mrs. Francis T. A. Junkin; and the Anderson Memorial Chapel, which was erected by popular subscription. The late Bishop Griswold was the instigator of the plan for the building of the Chapel and he and the committee which worked with him secured a large number of gifts ranging all the way from thousands of pennies contributed by Sunday School children to the \$50,000 gift of a Chicago layman. The original plan was to build the Chapel in honor of Bishop Anderson's thirty years as Bishop of Chicago. Unfortunately, before the building was completed, the Bishop had died, and his body was laid at rest beneath its altar. The Chapel has thus become not only a memorial to Bishop Anderson, but also in a very real sense a shrine to thousands of persons who loved and revered him.

The Lay Memorial Tower, which joins the Chapel and the Administration Building, was given by Mr. R. Floyd Clinch in memory of Mrs. Clinch's father and mother and sister. It is one of the most beautiful church towers in America and it houses the chimes which were originally given by Mr. Clinch to Grace Church, Chicago. After Grace Church burned and was rebuilt next door to St. Luke's Hospital, where bells could obviously not be rung, the chimes were returned to the donor who gave them to the Seminary and then built the Tower and Spire in order to house them. The chimes have recently been equipped with an electrical operating mechanism and their sweet tones call worshippers to the Chapel every afternoon for Evensong.

It is a matter of pride and satisfaction to the Trustees of the Seminary that no indebtedness was incurred in erecting the new buildings. No one foresaw the depression which was about to come upon the world, and so it can not be claimed as a matter of merit. However, the fact that the Seminary buildings were paid for upon completion has been an important factor not only in solvency but also in the growth of the new Seminary. The Gregory Memorial Library, for example, was given almost at the beginning of the financial campaign in 1923. It is the gift of Mrs. Robert B. Gregory of Chicago and houses not only the main library, but also the remarkable Hibbard Old Testament collection, an Oriental Library developed chiefly by the Rev. Professor Samuel A. B. Mercer through the interest and aid of Mrs. Gregory's mother, the late Mrs. Lydia Beekman Hibbard. The William Horlick Refectory was another early gift and is a most attractive dining hall, with timbered roof, leaded glass windows and long oak tables. Several visitors from Oxford and Cambridge have

remarked that they felt quite at home in this building. Wheeler Hall is named in honor of the founder of the Seminary, Dr. Tolman Wheeler, and was built with funds received from the sale of the old Seminary buildings on the west side of Chicago.

Although the new buildings were not begun until 1928, the Seminary reopened after a fashion in the fall of 1927 at St. Mark's Parish House, Evanston. One day a month was devoted to lectures and conferences for graduate students, some of whom came great distances in order to attend. About twenty-five clergymen were enrolled, including clergymen from the Diocese of Michigan, Iowa and Indiana. Courses were given in such subjects as Christian Biography, Early Christian Literature, Early History of the Liturgy, Contemporary Study of the Gospels, Relation between the Old and New Testaments, St. Paul: The Man and His Message, Contemporary Philosophy or Religion, The making of the Curriculum (Religious Education), and Christianity and the Social Order. The Faculty included the Rev. Arthur Haire Forster, Professor of Literature and Interpretation of the New Testament; and the Rev. Percy Varney Norwood, Professor of Ecclesiastical History; the Rev. Frederick C. Grant, Professor of Literature and Interpretation of the Old Testament, and Dean. The Rev. Theodore B. Foster, who had been Professor of Dogmatics for nine years prior to the closing of the Seminary, had now reached the retiring age and resigned. Professors Forster and Norwood had been members of the Faculty before the closing of the old Seminary. Dean Grant was a former Chicagoan who had taken his doctor's degree in course at the Seminary and returned after having been Dean of Bexley Hall in Ohio and for one year Professor of Systematic Theology at Berkeley Divinity School in Connecticut.

The following year the undergraduate school was reopened, the Faculty of three being supplemented by Special Lecturers who included Bishop Anderson, Dr. Samuel A. B. Mercer, Dr. Burton Scott Easton, Dr. Francis J. Hall and Professor Robert M. Wenley. Professors Mercer, Easton and Hall had all at one time been on the Faculty of Western Seminary. Robert Wenley was the famous Professor of Philosophy at the University of Michigan. The buildings not yet being completed, the Seminary enjoyed the generous hospitality of Garrett Biblical Institute. Not only did Garrett provide lecture rooms and free use of the library and Chapel, but the authorities refused to permit the Seminary even to contribute toward the cost of light, heat or service. Such generosity following the gift of a valuable part of the site of the Seminary will long be remembered. The most cordial relationship of cooperation continues to exist be-

tween the two schools, courses and grades are interchangeable and students of both institutions have access to the library and other facilities of the two Seminaries. They also have free use of the University Library and are admitted to Northwestern University upon payment of fees covering only the actual number of hours elected.

The graduate school reopened in 1928 with thirteen students. The following year this number was doubled and the Faculty was increased by the addition of the Rev. D. A. McGregor, Professor of Dogmatic Theology; the Rev. George Craig Stewart, Lecturer in Homiletics; the Rev. Edwin Edgar Voigt, Librarian and Curator of the Hibbard Old Testament Library, and Lecturer in Old Testament and Semitics; Peter Christian Lutkin, Lecturer in Church Music; the Rev. E. J. Randall, Lecturer in the Church's Program; and the Rev. Frederick G. Deis, Lecturer in Missions. The Alumni Association was reorganized and an Extension Department established, which was designed to carry on the work of the graduate school reopened in 1927. There were at that time twenty men registered in the Extension Department. Several of these men have since completed the residence requirements and taken advanced degrees. 1930, the year of the building of the Anderson Memorial Chapel and the Francis Junkin Hall, saw a still further increase in the student body (33) and a corresponding increase in the Faculty. The Rev. Frank H. Hallock became Instructor in Hebrew and Ecclesiastical Latin, Lecturer in Biblical Archaeology, Cornelius C. Cunningham, Instructor in Public Speaking. The year 1931 saw a still further increase in numbers (47) and the addition of the Rev. Alfred Newbery to the Faculty as Lecturer in Social Work. Bishop Scarlett of Missouri gave the Hale Sermon and the Rev. Z. T. Phillips spent a month at the Seminary lecturing on Pastoral Theology.

The following year, 1932, the number of students went up to fifty-three in residence and eight graduate students completing courses in absentia. The Rev. George H. Thomas became Lecturer in Pastoral Theology, and the Rev. Frank Dyer, Assistant Instructor in Homiletics. The Rev. Frank Myers became Lecturer in Religious Education; Stanley Martin, Instructor in Church Music; Rex Bozarth Wilkes, Instructor in Public Speaking; and John Tilton, Lecturer in Church Architecture. The Rev. Cyril Hudson, of St. Alban's, England, gave the Hale Sermon, "The Teaching Church," and the Rev. John Rathbone Oliver gave his famous course of Hale Lectures, "Pastoral Psychology and Medicine."

After a little more than a year of negotiation, during which the question was studied from every possible angle, Seabury Divinity

School and Western Theological Seminary were united July 1, 1933, the combined Seminaries taking the name "Seabury-Western Theological Seminary." The two corporations retained their separate identity and simply pooled their resources for the joint operation of the school. This was the only feasible way in which the two schools could be united from a legal point of view; and it has proved to be a most satisfactory working arrangement. The long record of missionary enthusiasm and adventure which belongs to Seabury has been united to the aspirations toward high standards of scholarship which have been more or less characteristic of Western—though neither school was ever entirely lacking in either missionary enthusiasm or scholarship. A combined Board of Trustees operates the institution and official representatives of the Province of the Northwest and of the Diocese of Minnesota are upon this Board. The representatives upon the Faculty are: the Rt. Rev. Frank Arthur McElwain, D.D., Bishop of Minnesota, and Henry Benjamin Whipple Professor of Pastoral Theology and Homiletics, Lecturer in Old Testament and in Polity and Canon Law; Dr. Allen Diehl Albert, who is Mason-Bill Lecturer in Old Testament and Hebrew, and Registrar; the Rev. Paul Stevens Kramer, Ph.D., who is Lecturer in Systematic Theology, and in the History and Psychology of Religion. Other new members of the Faculty at the present time include the Rev. Sherman Elbridge Johnson, Lecturer in New Testament and Septuagint; Mme. Edith Bideau Normelli, Director of Music, and Dr. Dwight F. Clark, Seminary Physician and Lecturer in Hygiene.

The two libraries have been combined, as have also the scholarship funds. Candidates who agree to give the full three years of their ministry to the Northwest and who are accepted by the Scholarship Committee are entitled to receive Seabury Scholarships so long as they maintain a degree average in their studies.

The Breck Missionary Society, founded at Seabury in 1892, is carried on in the new Seminary. A fine spirit of fellowship and co-operation prevails among the students likewise and there has been no discrimination in the election of officers to the student Convocation. The Alumni share and share alike in office; both groups are entitled to nominate one member to the Board of Trustees each year.

In addition to the Seabury Scholarships, a number of other scholarships have been given within recent years. Four were established by the late Bishop Anderson; one by the late Harriet Blair Borland. Mr. Charles E. Field, of Chicago, has established the Helen Ledyard Field Prize in Homiletics, and more recently the Angus and Lucille Hibbard Scholarship and the A. C. Dallas Scholarship have been announced.

The Faculty have recently gone back to the "West Point Plan," whereby a Faculty Scholarship is provided each student maintaining a degree average in his studies and is otherwise approved as a fit man to study for the sacred Ministry. These Scholarships cover the board and room fee and are worth \$100 a term. It can now be said once more, as it was years ago, that "no student has ever yet had to leave Western Theological Seminary for lack of funds whose record in studies, general ability, consecration to his calling, and determination to succeed were of high order. We are confident that it will continue to be possible for such men to make their way, and the Seminary pledges itself in advance to do everything in its power to help them."

The Seminary has a strategic location, it combines two great traditions here in the Middle West. It has a field of service whose boundaries stretch off beyond the horizon westward, northwestward, southwestward—and also north, east, and south, and overseas. It has a substantial group of buildings of superbly beautiful architecture, built to last for a thousand years. It is the hope of the Seminary to build up and to perpetuate within these beautiful buildings an intellectual and spiritual life worthy of the surroundings, and capable of seizing the great opportunities which lie before the Church here in the Middle West now and in the generations to come.

MICHAEL HOUDIN, FIRST RECTOR OF TRENTON, N. J. :
INTELLIGENCE OFFICER AT QUEBEC, AND
MISSIONARY AT NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.

By John Wolfe Lydekker,

Archivist to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

MICHAEL HOUDIN was born in France in 1705. At the age of twenty-five he was ordained priest by the Archbishop Elector of Trèves, and after officiating for some years under the name of Père Pôtencien¹ as a Franciscan friar, he was appointed Superior of a Convent of Recollect Friars at Montreal, Canada. At the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1744 (which had its transatlantic repercussions in the French attack on Annapolis), Houdin decided to leave the Romish Church and join the Church of England. It has been suggested that his disgust of the monastic life led him to take this step,² but in view of his later career it may be that he had already contemplated offering his assistance to the English administration in the struggle between the two countries.

Be this as it may, it is recorded in a letter written in February, 1748, by the Rev. Henry Barclay, D.D., Rector of Trinity Church, New York, that Houdin "came from Canada into this Province and brought with him a widdow lady of good Family well known to some Gentlemen of Albany. He was, *by the Governor's order*, sent to Jamaica on Long Island, where he was soon afterwards married to the Lady by M^r Colgan,³ and hath behaved himself ever since agreeable to the Character of a Christian and a Clergyman." "On Easter Day, 1747, he made a publick Renunciation of the Errors of the Romish Church and communicated with us (as his Lady did with M^r Colgan) and the week following took the Oaths to the Government in the Supreme Court of this Province. He has hitherto been supported by teaching two or three children the French Tongue, and by the Charity of some Gentlemen of this City, but is at present

¹Thomas Hughes, S. J., "*The History of the Society of Jesus in North America*," Vol. II, p. 461, footnote.

²Hamilton Schuyler, "*History of St. Michael's Church, Trenton*," p. 64.

³Rev. Thomas Colgan, S. P. G. missionary at Jamaica, Long Island, 1732-55.

out of all Business and in very necessitous Circumstances. He would gladly enter into the Service of the Church"⁴

It would seem probable from the fact that the Governor sent him to Long Island, that Houdin was supplying information to the English authorities which would necessitate a safe asylum for him from the French and one that was within easy reach of New York.

Some time after the conclusion of the war (1748) Mr. Houdin appears to have returned to New York. In December, 1749, the Rev. Henry Barclay wrote to the Society asking if a license to preach could be procured for him from the Bishop of London,⁵ and in the following November Houdin (who had in the meantime removed to Trenton) offered his services to the Society:—

Trenton New Jersey November 1 1750.

"Reverend Sir

This is the second [letter] in case the first should miscarry.

As I esteem it more excusable to be troublesome than wanting in my duty, I beg your patience, whilst I submit to your consideration the true reason of my takeing some steps, which I cannot perhaps in strictness justify myself in to the Society, to whose orders and directions I shall always readily conform, and pay the utmost veneration.

Dureing my residence at New York, I heard of repeated complaints made by the Gentlemen and principal inhabitants of this place, Allens town, and Bordens town, of being for many years past destitute of a Church of England minister, and without any sort of application of mine, about 5 months ago some of them were pleased to press me by letter to come amongst them: I being then conscious to my self that I had no license from the Lord Bishop, or sanction from the Society, I deliberated some time, till I had consulted several Gentlemen of the clergy in New York Government [i. e., province] and others, who unanimously advised me to go over to them, and hear their proposals. When I waited on them, I really found they were destitute indeed, there not being a minister of the Church of England nearer than Burlington one way, and thirty miles and upwards every other. At their pressing instance and request, I performed the Service and preached to them at Trenton, Allenstown and Bordens Town: they were (thank God) so well pleased and satisfied with me, and pressed the necessity of my staying with them so strongly, that I could not resist their importunity of removing my wife and family to Trenton. I have ever since officiated at the three places, and humbly hope my good intention to serve the Church, and the real necessity this part of the province lay under, will account for any irregu-

⁴*S. P. G. Mss., Vol. B. 15, No. 123.*

⁵*S. P. G. Mss., Vol. B. 17, No. 113.*

larity committed, and that your goodness will recommend me and this state of the case formally to the Society in order to obtain their bounty in such a manner as may support myself and family with Decency, and be the better enabled to perform that Duty, which by the blessing of God I shall most willingly and zealously undertake.

I beg leave to add that for ten years past, this part of the country is become very populous especially in the back settlements up the River Dealware, and that in all that time they have not any child christened according to the ceremony of the Church of England. Many of the inhabitants have been already down with me to desire I would perform that Duty: I am very ready to comply with their request, and promised I would take a journey in the week days not only to christen their children, but sometimes to perform the church service and preach to them. I doubt not but the Society will be pleaded to take the necessary expense and fatigue of these journeys into their consideration, and that you will suffer me to subscribe myself

Reverend Sire

your most humble Servant

Michael Houdin."⁶

As a result of this letter the Society voted him a gratuity of £30 for his past services and desired a further report upon him from the Rev. Henry Barclay.⁷

In the following April Dr. Barclay reported to the Society that Mr. Houdin "had attain'd so great a Proficiency in the English Tongue as to preach very intelligibly in it" and that the people of Trenton, Allenstown and Bordertown had promised him an annual stipend of £60.⁸

In October Mr. Houdin wrote to the Society as follows:—

Trenton in New Jersey octobr 16th 1751

"Rev^d Sir

This is for the Second in case my first should miscarry.

Permitt me to return you my grateful acknowledgments for your Letter of the 7th of June last, it gives me the greatest Satisfaction and comfort, that the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts have considered my character in that Light, it has been transmitted to them, and that they have supplyd my present necessitous condition, with a gratuity of 30L pounds sterling, as a token of their approbation of my good Services (as they are pleased to express themselves) whatever circumstances the Hand of Providence shall hereafter be pleased to throw me into, my best services shall never be wanting. I have drawn upon

⁶*S. P. G. Mss., Vol. B. 18, No. 149.*

⁷*S. P. G. Jo., Vol. 12, p. 9.*

⁸*Ibid, pp. 46, 47.*

the Treasurer in the manner you were so good to prescribe to me.

In answer to the first objection in your Letter, that the Society cannot as yet receive me into their more immediate service, because I am not licensed by the L^d Bish^p of London, as not having shew'd my proofs of my having been ordain'd a priest in the church of Rome; I flatter myself, I cannot do it more effectually, than by inclosing you a copy of mr Barclay's letter inclos'd in my first with two testimonies given to me, before I came in this place, one by the Same, and the other by m^r Colgan; and hope long before this, that particular is wholly clear'd up to satisfaction.

As to the 2^d objection that the church of Trenton is at present understood to be within the circuit of m^r Craig; I humbly beg leave to assure you, that on the first arrival of m^r Craig, he came to Trenton and preached one Sermon upon Trinity Sunday, and having inquir'd of the limits of this mission, being inform'd the limits were 60 miles and more, he told me that he came not to disturb me, but he was very glad to find me able of serving this mission, for 'twas impossible for him to attend so large a one, at that great distance in the Province of Pensilvania beyond Philadelphia, where he was to make his residence, and was well pleased to find I was so revered and approved of by my Congregation; so left us the next day, and has never been here since, nor have I since ever heard from, or of him: and from that time I have assiduously continued my best endeavours, as before, to be as useful in the ministry, as my Health and long journeys woud allow, and which by God Blessing I shall persevere to do, not in the least doubting but when the hon^b Society are thus apprized of the real truth of the state of things, and how I am circumstanced, but that they will in a short time provide for me here in such manner as they shall think proper. From the 24th of July, 1750, to this day, I have Baptis'd within the limits of this mission 137 infants, besides 11 adults after a full instruction: there are great many yet unbaptis'd, because of their parents carelessness, and for want of school masters to teach them, they were not yet arriv'd to a sufficient instruction. besides the four Towns I attended upon Sundays, I have travel'd the whole Summer in the week days to Amwell and Bethlehem, where the Inhabitants of Greenwich and from the upper part of pensilvania, and several other parts from the mountains meeting together, form'd a very considerable Congregation: and it is very likely, that if a church's minister should attend them constantly in the Summer (for in the winter it is almost impossible, the Road being so difficult and bad in the mountains) all those that are join'd to the dissenters for want of instruction, no church's minister having been there before, would return immediately to the Church: which God willing I intend

to do, if the Society think my labours agreeable here, or else for the greatest glory of God, I shall be always to their good will, being to them as to you with all respects

Rev^d Sir

the most humble Servant

Michael Houdin.”⁹

A year later Mr. Houdin again wrote to the Society¹⁰ reporting the progress of his mission and requesting that his salary (which “was very ill paid”) might be increased by a grant from the Society. This was approved, a sum of £50 per annum being voted for him.

In November, 1753, Houdin (who, be it noted, is described as “Itinerant Missionary in New Jersey”), wrote to the Society thanking them for receiving him into their service and reporting that during the last year he had “baptiz’d 45 children and 5 adults after proper instruction: at Amwell above 200 Presbyterians; and some families of Anabaptists constantly attended Divine Service at the Church.”¹¹

His next letter is dated 30th September, 1754, and in it he reported further baptisms and the attendance of a Quaker family at his church.¹² During the ensuing year Mr. Houdin officiated “on common days once a month at Kingswood, Bethlehem, and Greenwich,”¹³ and within a few months the people of these “three neighbouring Towns, almost on the Frontiers of the Province, erected and covered [i. e., roofed] their Church.”¹⁴

In the meantime the open hostility between England and France had resulted in England’s declaration of war on 18th May, 1756, just ten months after Braddock’s disaster near Fort Duquesne. It would seem that Houdin was sent for by the English authorities, for on the 29th April, 1757, he was appointed a chaplain to the 48th Regiment¹⁵ and served under Lord Loudon in that general’s abortive campaign. In a letter dated the 27th September of that year he wrote that “ye enemies having prevented my Lord Loudon’s undertaking (in which he [Houdin] at his Lordship’s desire accompanied him) he was permitted to return to his mission.”¹⁶ After Loudon’s recall (January, 1758) Houdin served under his successor, Major-

⁹*S. P. G. Mss. B., Vol. 19, No. 101.*

¹⁰*S. P. G. Jo. Vol. 12, pp. 245-6.* It is to be regretted that this and several subsequent letters from Houdin are no longer extant: abstracts thereof are recorded in the *S. P. G. Journals*.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 333.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 406.

¹³*S. P. G. Jo., Vol. 13, p. 101.*

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 242.

¹⁵Note by Mr. Doughty in the Champlain Society’s Edition of Knox’s “*Historical Journal*.”

¹⁶*S. P. G. Minutes Standing Committee, Vol. 8.*

General Abercromby, and accompanied the brilliant expedition under Admiral Boscawen and Generals Amherst and Wolfe against Louisbourg in the summer of that year. In a letter written from Louisbourg on the 28th July, two days after the surrender of the town, Houdin excused himself to the Society for his long absence from his mission on the grounds "that he was obliged to sail with the Fleet for Cape Breton at the instance of Gen^l Abercrombie, who had no Chaplain to send for that part with the Army, but that he proposed to return by the first opportunity and hoped that the Society would not disapprove of his obeying the General's commands."¹⁷

How soon Houdin returned to his mission is not known. In his next letter, written from Trenton on the 28th November, he complained that "last Spring [i. e., during his absence] the Presbyterians without any Title have taken possession of a Lot of Land of about 100 acres which was given to the Church by Colonel Cox and of which the Church has had quiet possession for 6 years."¹⁸ This "Colonel Cox" was John Coxe, son of Colonel Daniel Coxe, one of the largest land owners in New Jersey, and grandson of Dr. Daniel Coxe, Court Physician to Charles II and a Proprietor of West Jersey.¹⁹

The next we hear of Mr. Houdin is in a joint report written by six of the S. P. G.'s missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. Charleton, Browne, Auchmuty, Cooke, Chandler and Mackean, on the 6th of February, 1759. Houdin is here stated to be "now a Chaplain to one of His Majesty's Marching Regiments."²⁰ From this it may be presumed that he was again called to the Colours and attached to the forces under Generals Amherst and Prideaux, who were ordered to attack Montreal and Niagara, while the expedition under Admiral Saunders and General Wolfe (which sailed from England that same month of February) operated against Quebec.

Mr. Houdin's next letter to the Society was written at Quebec on the 23rd October, some five weeks after the famous battle. He had in the meantime become attached to General Wolfe's staff, and it is obvious from the statements in his letter that he had been acting in the capacity of an intelligence officer to that General, as he had also done to the previous commanders under whom he had served:—

Quebec. October 23, 1759.

"Revd. Sir

I am in hope my absence from my Mission will not bring me under the displeasure of the ven^{ble} Society, what I have done from the beginning was to obey the orders of

¹⁷*S. P. G. Jo., Vol. 14, p. 105.*

¹⁸*Ibid., p. 155.*

¹⁹*Vide Hamilton Schuyler's "History of St. Michael's Church, Trenton," p. 33.*

²⁰*Ibid., p. 191.*

my Lord Loudon and other commanders in chief after him who depended much upon my being well acquainted with all the Country, I could be of service to them. the desire I had for the good success of his Majesty's arms, hath given me strength above my age and Constitution, to bear all the fatigues of such campanes, and blessed be God, that he hath been pleas^d to crown our labour this year, beyond, I can say, our expectation. I asked leave, after the reduction of Quebec to return in my Mission, but General Muray our Governour, ordered me to stay with him, telling me, he had no prospect Person, as the Country was not yet reduc^d, to depend for intelligence of the French proceeding. he promised me, he would acquaint the Society of it, and of the reason thereof. I am intirely depriv^d of my expectations, by the death of our brave General Wolfe, who promised me to remember my labours and services, and as they are unknown to General Muray, he keeps me hier this winter, without any advantage; because he thinks me necessary I must suffer here for it, and my Family at home. I hope the ven^{ble} Society will take my circumstances under their consideration, and do me the kindness of continuing me in their favour. next spring I expect to be of little use here, I will return into my mission, unless the Society should be please to dispose of me in any other way; it will always be a pleasure and satisfaction to me, to obey your orders.

I Sent to my wife my Bill for last september, which I hope the Society will accept, being the only support for her and five Children in my absence. I am

Rev^d Sir

your humble Servant

Michael Houdin."²¹

In this letter the reference to Houdin's "labours and services" which were unknown to General Murray is very significant. Monckton, Wolfe's senior Brigadier, had been wounded in the battle and had returned to England with Brigadier Townshend, the next in seniority, and the command had thus devolved upon Brigadier Murray. It is well known that the relations between Wolfe and Brigadiers Townshend and Murray had been strained for some weeks preceding the battle, and this may well account for Houdin's statement that Murray was unaware of Wolfe's promise to him. There can be no doubt from Houdin's letter that he had on several occasions communicated important intelligence to Wolfe. What this may have been must remain conjectural, for Houdin gave no further reference to it in his letters, but one item may well have concerned the winding path leading from the "Anse du Foulon" (now known as "Wolfe's Cove") to the summit of the Heights of Abraham, which

²¹*S. P. G., C. Mss.*

enabled the British troops to scale the cliffs and thus force the French to give battle. The accounts of the discovery of the famous pathway have been variously described. Some authorities assert that Wolfe himself first saw it while surveying the cliffs from the opposite shore of the St. Lawrence, but it is admittedly a point which has never been settled conclusively. From an examination of the known facts it would seem highly probable that the French ex-Roman Catholic priest, with his first-hand knowledge of Canada, should have been Wolfe's informant. Again, the entry in Brigadier Townshend's diary which reads "*By some intelligence the General hath, he hath changed his mind as to the place he intended to land,*" suggests that Wolfe purposely kept his officers in the dark as to his intentions, which (if our supposition is correct) were known only to himself and Houdin. That Houdin was present at the battle may be inferred from the dual nature of his duties, for there is every reason to believe that he was still acting (at least nominally) as Chaplain to the Forces. In this connection it is a curious circumstance that in the celebrated picture "*The Death of Wolfe*" (painted by the great American artist, Benjamin West, from eye-witnesses' descriptions) there is a clergyman standing on the extreme right of the group in an attitude of prayer. The names of the principal persons represented are given in a key to the picture, but the clergyman's name is not given and is apparently not known.²² That there *was* a clergyman present may be assumed from West's determination to create a faithful representation of the historic episode which he painted,²³ but whether that clergyman was Michael Houdin must remain a tantalizing conjecture.

In spite of his wish to return to his mission Houdin continued to serve with the army for the next two years. In June, 1761, the Rev. Henry Barclay wrote that he was "still detained by General Amherst in Canada."²⁴ It would seem that this was not known to the Society, as a minute dated the 21st November, 1760, recommends "The Rev^d M^r Houdin, at present Itinerant missionary in New Jersey, to succeed M^r Stoupe [who had recently died] in the mission of New Rochelle."²⁵

Meanwhile Mr. Houdin continued his service with the British

²²*I have endeavoured from various sources to ascertain who the clergyman is supposed to represent, but without success.—J. W. L.*

²³"*The Death of Wolfe*" was the first picture in which a modern battle was represented with the characters dressed in modern costume instead of that of classical antiquity. This innovation caused Sir Joshua Reynolds and the Hon. Robert Hay Drummond, D.D., Archbishop of York, to remonstrate with West, who replied: "The event to be commemorated happened in 1759, in a region of the world unknown to the Greeks and Romans and at a period when no warriors who wore such costume existed. The subject I have to represent is a great battle fought and won, and the same truth which gives law to the historian should rule the painter." (*Vide Dic. Nat. Biog.*)

²⁴*S. P. G. Jo.*, Vol. 15, pp. 133-4.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 23.

forces in Canada. From the following notice which appeared in the *New York Post Boy* of the 4th June, 1761, it is evident that the French authorities considered him a person of much importance whom they were anxious to seduce from his allegiance:—

"We hear from Montreal that the Vicar-General of all Canada, residing at Montreal, has wrote a pressing invitation to the Rev. Mr. Udang [*sic*], the chaplain of a Regiment at Quebec, to return to the Romish religion, with a promise of great preferment in the Church, which Mr. Udang put in the hands of General Murray, who sent it enclosed to General Gage, who upon receipt of it, sent a Guard to take the Vicar-General into custody; what will be the issue, is not known."²⁶

By the following September Mr. Houdin was permitted to take up his work among the French Huguenots at New Rochelle. A letter which he wrote to the Society in that month miscarried and his next communication was sent a year later:—

New Rochelle October 12th 1762.

"Rev^d Sir

I hope my letter of last year, in date of September 26th, is come into your Hands, in which I returned my humble thanks to the Venerable Society for their appointing me their missionary at New Rochelle. as soon as I receiv^d your letter, I came to the place, which I fund in a very poor condition, the House unfit to live in it, the inhabitants hired an other, untill they could built a new one on the Glebe land, they raised money for it, and last winter, we had the timber cut down. this was not sooner done, that few French Calvenists, who keep yet a form of meeting, corrupted three tenants, I fund on the land when I came here, to take lessees from them, and to stand upon possession. it hath not been in our power to dispossess them without going in Law, and the cause remain yet undecided. God grant us his protection, as we think the right is in our side, if we were last, the money rose for the building would be expended in the law, and our church remain without House and land, and as the inhabitants, for the most part, are poor, a missionary could not live amongst them.

It is reported amongst us, peace is concluded, and we are to keep Canada: in case the venerable Society should appoint some missionaris for that country, and have my services agreeable, I will be always ready to comply with their orders.

I have drawn this day on your treasurer one year's Salary. I am

Rev^d Sir

Your most humble Servant

Michael Houdin."²⁷

²⁶Quoted by Hamilton Schuyler in "*History of St. Michael's Church, Trenton*," p. 62.

²⁷*S. P. G. Mss., Vol. B. 3, No. 178.*

In his next letter Mr. Houdin gave an account of the difficulties he experienced regarding church land:—

New Rochelle October the 10th 1763

“Reverend Sir

I receiv^d your kind letter some time last Summer, in which you acquaint me, the Vnerable Society is desirous to be acquainted with our troubles. to give you a true account, I must come up to the first establishment of New Rochelle. one Jacob Lesnar made a purchase of John Pell for the French refugees, of a tract of land (called since New Rochelle) of six thousand acres of land, and in the said deed it is said, that John Pell and Rachell his wife do also give one undred acres of land more, for a french church erected, or to be erected by the inhabitants of the said tract of land, or their assigns. the french refugees took possession of these undred acres of land from the beginning, and did possess de same untill the year 1709, the time, when upon the representation of their minister, the whole congregation, excepting two or three familys, conform^d to the Church of England, and kept from that time possession of the church and land untill my coming here, when they made appear a deed given by the son of Jacob Lesnar, in which the two opponents to the conformity of the church are made trustees of the land, and m^r Pell's deed altered in such manner, for a french church who shall perform divin Service according to the french Calvenists of the old French, and that deed bea date four months after the conformity of our church; and upon such title, the calvinists at my arrival here, debauched our tannants, who took leases under them, and by that keep us out of our possession. upon which the church wardens applied to a Lawer for advice, and upon mature consideration, it was found that John Pell, who had given the land for a french church erected or to be erected by the inhabitants of the said tract of land, or their assigns, had never devested himself of the legal right of the said one undred acres of land. these considered, our Church Wardens applyed to the executors of the heir at law of said Pell, who have released all the right of Pell to the Church, for one hundred pound, the executors having power to sell by the will of the present heir's father. with this title, join^d to fifty three years possession, our church wardens did serve three ejectments upon the three tenants, and the Calvenists entered deffendants, and on the 15 day of september last we had a trial at the supreme court, when the jurys brought their vardict in faveur of our church, upon which the attorneys of the Calvenists partie, offered a Bill of exception; so that we must wait the issue of said bill at the supreme court at New York to be held the 18 day of this instant.

We have to deal with very stubborn and litigious people, which make me afraid, they will not be contented before

they have brought us before all the different tribunals, and by that means deprive me, of all the benefit of the land which causes me a great prejudice. the congregation is very unanimous and in good harmony, ready to deffend their right to the last, seeing the calvenists will not agree upon any terms of peace, proposed to them by our church, but we are in hope, the strong bleeding of their purse will bring them to an agreement after New York Court.

I have drawn upon your treasurer one years salary due to me from the Twenty fifth september last.

after the Trial is over our Church Wardens have promis'd me, to give a more particular account of the proceeding to the vn^{ble} Society

I am

Reverend Sir,

your humble servant

Michael Houdin.''²⁸

In the following April Mr. Houdin wrote as follows:—

New Rochelle april 17 1764

"Rev^d Sir

Since my last I have nothing particular to acquaint the venerable Society with. our law suit concerning the Glebe land is yet at stand, before the Governor and his conseil, and that I think, because we are not in a capacity of satisfaing our Lawyers voracity, which is a great loss to me, being all the while depriv^d of the benefit of it. the expences I am at for that reason, have oblig^d me to draw upon your secretary half year salary.

I have baptized in the course of this winter 25 white and 10 negroe children: 3 white adults in a family, the Father of which was formerly a Roman Catholick but now converted to our church, and the mother anabaptist. I am

Rev^d Sir

Your humble servant

Michael Houdin.''²⁹

In his next communication he reported that the law suit over the glebe land was still pending:—

New Rochelle october 23rd 1764

"Reverend Sir

I was in hope to give you a good account of our lawsuit, concerning the Gleb land, but by the neglect of our Lawyers, it is yet standing. our church wardens have taken the resolution to build the house where the old stood, and are now about it, they promise me it will be finished next spring. since my last, I have nothing, that deserves the hon^{ble} So-

²⁸*Ibid*, No. 179.

²⁹*Ibid*, No. 180.

ciety's attention. I have in the course of this summer baptized 25 white and 9 negro infants, 6 white and 2 negro adults properly instructed.

I have drawn, on the same date of this, upon your Treasurer half year's salary. I am

Reverend Sir

your humble Servant

Michael Houdin."³⁰

Early in the new year Mr. Houdin contracted a dangerous illness, brought on no doubt from the strain of his four years' campaigning with the army which he had joined when he was over fifty years of age:—

New Rochelle april 13th 1765

"Sir

it hath been the will of almighty God to visit me twice this winter with a dreadful distemper. I was seisd^d some time in december last with a kind of a dead palsy on my left arm, which by the help of God, did not last but two weeks and was afterward entirely recovered, but sometime in february I was seisd^d a second time by a violent cold I got in the church of which I am not as yet perfectly recovered, but hope by the help of god to be able to perform my duty in few days finding myself strengtening every days in proportion as warm weather increases. our people have been at work from the first of march about the gleebe house and will be fit to go in the first of may— concerning the gleebe land we have obtain^d an other judgment in our favour from the Governour and conseil to whom as I acquainted you last year they had presented a Bill of error against the Court which I hope will make them peaceable and oblige them to leave us in a quiet possession of the land, strengthen our own congregation and was it the will of God incline many of them to join with us and procure to this mission the great blessing of peace for ever. I have drawn on your treasurer this day half a year's salary due to me from lady day last. I am

Reverend Sir

your humble Servant

Michael Houdin."³¹

Six months later Houdin wrote his last letter to the Society. For several months his health had steadily declined, and although he was still able to carry out his duties, he never fully regained his strength:—

New Rochelle september 23^d 1765

"Reverend Sir

I was always in hope the Society would take the poor People of Canada under their consideration, there must be a

³⁰*Ibid*, No. 190.

³¹*Ibid*, No. 191.

great field and no labourers to cultivate it. I have in a former letter offered my service for it would the ven^{ble} Society find it acceptable. I expected to give you this year a good account that our trouble with the Calvenists was ended. we have obtained by judgment of the Court possession of a part of the Gleebe Land, and were in expectation they would give up the rest, but they continue as obstinate as ever, and the negligence of our attorney put us back for one year before we can obtain judgment for the rest of the Land, which is a great lost to me and will ruin my familie, for I have been at very great expences since I am here and without any support from the People who far from being willing to help a minister would live upon him if they could. I cannot give you a particular account of the mission for this half year, my disorder haveing endered [i. e., hindered] me for some time from performing any duty, but God be tank^d, I have recovered my Healt so far, that I am almost as able as ever for my duty.

I have drawn this day half years salary on your treasurer and am

Reverend Sir

Your humble Servant

Michael Houdin.

as I was some time ago with Mr St George Talbot, he promised me he would give a proper account to the Society of all this missions and in particular of mine."³²

Michael Houdin died in the month of September, 1766, leaving a widow and several children, who received a gratuity from the S. P. G.³³ How far this remarkable career influenced the course of history can never be accurately gauged; no mention of him is to be found in the standard works which deal with the conquest of Canada, and his name has no place in the long line of England's empire-builders. It remains to us who have studied the record of his services to Church and State in this year—the one hundred and seventieth anniversary of his passing—to pay our tribute to his memory.

It was said of him that "He was esteemed a worthy missionary, of considerable learning and irreproachable morals. His remains were interred by the side of his predecessors, Bondet and Stoupe, beneath the chancel of the old French Church, but since the removal of this edifice, the ashes of these worthy and laborious missionaries repose in the highway, without a stone to mark the spot or commemorate their worth."³⁴

³²*Ibid*, No. 192.

³³S. P. G. Jo., Vol. 17, p. 199.

³⁴Bolton: "History of the Church in Westchester County," p. 470.

THE DIOCESE OF COLORADO AND ITS FIRST BISHOP AND DEAN

By Winfred Douglas

ON Wednesday, June 8th, 1887, in St. John's Cathedral, Denver, after an address by Bishop Burgess of Quincy on the subject of organizing a Diocese, the Primary Council adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That we, the Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, canonically resident in the State of Colorado, and Lay Delegates representing the Parishes of the said Church in the said State, do hereby organize a Diocese of the Church, whose bounds shall be co-terminous with those of the said State.

On a divided vote the new Diocese was named the Diocese of Colorado: and immediately, the Rt. Rev'd John Franklin Spalding, D.D., Missionary Bishop since December 31, 1873, was unanimously chosen as the first Diocesan Bishop. There were twenty-eight Priests and three Deacons in the new Diocese. Twenty-one Parishes were represented by lay delegates. Forty-one Parishes and Missions reported 2,086 Communicants, half of them in Denver. Thirty-nine unorganized Missions reported 46 Communicants.

This company of 2,164 persons, with a greater number of unconfirmed adherents, took up its new responsibility as a self-sustaining family in the Kingdom of God twenty-seven years after the first service of the Episcopal Church was held in what is now the State of Colorado.

Not only was the new Diocese co-terminous with the State, but its early history in many ways closely paralleled that of the Centennial State which in twenty years changed from being an unknown wilderness to full membership in the American Commonwealth.

A century ago, this part of the West had been passed by, in the literal sense of the term. To the south, the Santa Fe Trail cut across the corner of our present boundaries. A small fort in the Arkansas valley gave some sense of protection to the trading caravans in a dangerous region which they were eager to leave with all speed on their way to the Spanish settlements, with their alien life and

foreign religion. Far to the north traveled other caravans on the Oregon Trail, and with them, adventurous Methodist Missionaries seeking the Indians of the Northwest. Even the Mormons passed by on the other side to found the City of the Great Salt Lake. To be sure, Zebulon Pike had discovered the famous peak whose summit he reported as inaccessible to human effort: and Major Long had explored both the Arkansas and South Platte valleys, and had sagely reported that "This region, viewed as a frontier, may prove of infinite importance to the United States, inasmuch as it is calculated to serve as a barrier to prevent too great an expansion of our population westward."

This barrier had no terrors for the real discoverers of Colorado, the almost forgotten "mountain men" of the fur trade. Not government expeditions or official explorers found our territory, but these sturdiest and most independent of adventurous pioneers; who, dressing and living like the Indians, equipped only with traps, rifle and ammunition, cook pots, coffee, sugar, salt, whiskey and tobacco, loaded on a pack animal or two, passed familiarly through every corner of the mountains, and knew them as men know their own homes. But the beaver trade died out: and then, in 1858 some one washed a little gold in Cherry Creek. The next year, more important gold discoveries were made in the hills. Suddenly, like an overnight growth of mushrooms, this solitary region possessed new names, Denver, Golden City, Black Hawk, Central City, Nevada City, Breckenridge, Empire, Georgetown.

The early and vast expansion of mining reached its culmination in the nineties, and was followed by more lasting developments of agriculture and manufacturing. A period of adventurous uncertainties slowly changed to the less spectacular, but steadier and more dependable conditions of the permanent commonwealth.

Precisely similar was the religious growth which preceded the Diocese, and that of the Diocese itself. Early conditions left a stamp on the spiritual consciousness of the people which is in many ways yet to be observed.

The early comers saw in the sections of the territory under Mexican influence the Roman Church in that low ebb of ignorance, superstition, and even immorality, which was to call forth the heroic reforming labours of Archbishop Lamy and of Bishop Machebeuf. On the other hand, both the early mountain men and the later comers of the gold rush and the gradual settlement brought with them a real respect for religion; but a religion which was largely limited to the negative aspects of Protestantism. Before there were any churches, the prompt service of fraternal orders in providing for the sick and

bereaved, and in burying the dead, accustomed people everywhere to other ministrations than those of the Church. It is not strange that, to this day, many of our Church people in Colorado have remained very irregular in Church attendance; that the duty of worship is less prominent with them than the privilege of instruction by a preacher: and that they very commonly bury their dead from undertaking establishments rather than from their parish churches.

The first Christian Missionaries of Colorado partook of the sturdy and independent adventurousness of the mountain men. Before the formation of the Territory, John H. Kehler, of Sharpsburg, Maryland, in the twentieth year of his ministry, of his own initiative, made the somewhat perilous trip across the hostile Indian Country to Denver, and immediately organized the Church of St. John's in the Wilderness, where services were begun in January, 1860. The church was a log cabin, the benches rough boards on puncheons, there were no Prayer Books for the congregation, and no vestments for the Priest. But the Light of Life had come to Colorado, and better treasures than gold were found by Father Kehler and the many whom he served. In the following summer, he drove up into one of the little mining camps, Mountain City, near the present Central City, and began services in a region which was soon to have a population of over five thousand. Father Kehler sought no missionary stipend from the East, and no aid in the erection of a Church. His salary was about \$75.00 a month.

Another mountain adventurer for Christ was Father Dyer, of the Southern Methodists, a tireless itinerant, and not the first Methodist to preach in Colorado. On Christmas Eve, 1860, the great Roman Missionary Bishop, Father Machebeuf, began the services of his Church with the Midnight Mass of Christmas.

But, earlier in the year, on February 15, Joseph Cruikshank Talbot had been consecrated Bishop of the Northwest, or, as he used to merrily describe it, "of All Outdoors." In 1861, he visited the Colorado section of all outdoors, confirmed seven at St. John's, preached at Golden, Idaho, and Central City. The story of those adventurous days has often been told, and we must pass on to the coming of Bishop George Maxwell Randall in 1865. He found but two clergy in his vast jurisdiction, but entered upon his apostolic labours with a burning zeal and a ceaseless energy which never diminished till his death in 1873. His early years as a Baptist undoubtedly were of service in his relationship to the simple people among whom he moved over mountain and prairie in his covered wagon, under primitive conditions such as few Americans know today. Bishop Randall made heroic efforts to found schools and to build

churches "which could be distinguished from a schoolhouse, a saloon, or a railroad station." He won the contributions of parishes and of generous patrons in the East for these purposes. At Golden, the finest Church in the Territory was consecrated in 1867; a parochial school was established, as at other missions; a School of Mines was begun, with Territorial assistance; a Diocesan School for boys, Jarvis Hall; and a Divinity School, Matthews Hall. It seemed possible that a University would grow up in Golden. But disaster of one kind and another overtook the schools one by one. Even Wolfe Hall, the Diocesan School for girls in Denver, was eventually forced to close its doors in 1915, after a most useful existence. The schools, and some of the missions, of Bishop Randall's day, were like the quick growing mining towns that are now ghost towns. Only the School of Mines, taken over by the State, still remains.

One venerable name comes down to us from Bishop Randall's time which must never be forgotten. The Bishop had brought with him a Deacon, whom he called "his army of one," and whom he ordained in Denver, the first ordination in the region. But the young priest returned to Massachusetts, and the Bishop obtained in his place the Rev. Francis Byrne. Father Byrne, as he came to be to the whole region, was one of the humblest and holiest of missionaries. Just before the organization of the Diocese he wrote, "It has been my privilege to labour at thirty-nine different points in Colorado, holding services in log cabins, billiard halls, school houses, ranches, wherever and whenever a few could meet to hear the blessed Gospel of Christ, and to unite, as best they could, in prayer and praise to our Father in heaven." When he wrote these words, his ministry in Colorado was only half over. He lived to be, at 99 years, the Senior Priest of the Anglican Communion. None who knew him can ever forget his genial, humorous face, his utter willingness to be used wherever, whenever, and however God would use him, his loving spirit that carried him through the midst of controversies utterly untouched by them.

Another of Bishop Randall's early missionaries was Cortlandt Whitehead, who became later the second Bishop of Pittsburgh. He was stationed at Black Hawk for a time, but in 1869 went to Georgetown, taking with him altar, lectern, cross and candlesticks to furnish the new Grace Church for which funds had been provided by a devout woman in Grace Church, New York. Fr. Whitehead had secured the gift of a bell on which were cast the words, "St. Mark's Black Hawk, Colorado." This bell was diverted to Georgetown and mounted upon a tower built from logs cut close by. Among the young men who helped place the bell was Charles H. Marshall, who

had come out from Virginia in 1861. He became a candidate for Holy Orders; and on his way East for his theological education at Nashotah, was engaged in a sharp fight with attacking Indians. Father Marshall was ordained in 1874, and became Rector of Georgetown. Later, he served Leadville, then Trinity Memorial (the Church erected in Denver in honour of Bishop Randall), and St. Barnabas. Father Marshall probably ministered to more people than any other Priest in the State. He blessed some 14,000 marriages, and buried over 12,000 persons. At his death in 1930, the entire community mourned a pastor who refused to abandon work when he became rector emeritus, but continued his care for a vast flock to the very end, and died the best loved man in Colorado.

Bishop Randall's death in September, 1873, left a disheartened and somewhat disorganized work. To it came the strong hand, the wise head, and the great heart of John Franklin Spalding, who was to become the first Diocesan. The adventurous days were over. From then on, a steady constructive progress toward settled stability began. His first act was to provide for the building of Trinity Church as a memorial to Bishop Randall. Then he undertook a careful survey of the work. Only seven clergy were at their posts. There were nine places where services were customarily held, all in the very limited area of Denver and the near mountains. There were 618 Communicants. It was a time of financial panic, which lasted for four years. The schools, which the Bishop called "the weightiest of all his burdens," were in critical financial condition, and depleted patronage. It is significant of the courage and far-sighted prudence of the man that under such circumstances he should deal in his first Convocation address in 1874 with the beginning of work toward a fund for the future Diocesan Episcopate. From the very first, he anticipated and prepared the way for the Diocese which was to be. Year by year, a perfectly steady advance was made. The School of Mines at Golden was immediately turned over to a Board of Territorial Trustees, which action saved it to become the present fine institution. Stone churches were completed at Central City and Colorado Springs. 1875 added Greeley and Fort Collins; 1876, Christ Church, Canon City; 1877, the San Luis Valley; 1878 and 1879, Ouray, Silver Cliff, and Boulder; 1880, Leadville and Manitou.

On St. Matthew's Day, 1880, the corner stone of the old St. John's Cathedral was laid. The previous year, Henry Martyn Hart had come out from Blackheath, England, and had begun his remarkable forty years of constructive leadership in Denver as Dean of the Cathedral. Until its destruction by fire in 1903, this large and serviceable church, seating 1,200, was the center of intense and far-

reaching religious activity. The ideals and expectations of both the Bishop and the Dean regarding the organization and administration of a Cathedral were somewhat at variance; but the controversies which ensued were settled by a friendly concordat on the erection of the Diocese in 1887.

The opening service of the Cathedral was on November 8, 1881. The previous June, a very important plan, dear to the Bishop's heart, had come to fruition, and St. Luke's Hospital was completed and opened for patients.

In 1875, a stone Church had been begun in Gunnison; a baptism is recorded in 1876. But nothing further came of the effort for a time. But in 1882, Bishop Spalding sent Thomas Duck, an enthusiastic young Priest just ordained, to re-establish the mission. He had the Church roofed by December, and built his own rectory, having begged the money for materials. A local stone-cutter made the font, and therein were presently baptized *Leila Duck*, *Thomas Wolfe*, and *Mabel Rainbow*.

Fr. Duck interested a young newspaper man, John Wallis Ohl, in the Church. He started a weekly paper and a Sunday School at Crested Butte. Fr. Duck began services in Salida in 1884 in response to a request, and finally settled in Aspen. His visits to Glenwood Springs led to the establishment of St. Barnabas' Mission in 1885 by the Bishop. Mr. Ohl entered Holy Orders, and succeeded Fr. Duck in Aspen. The two ladies in Salida who had so earnestly sought the Church's services, again applied to the Bishop for a resident Priest. In preparation, Miss Graves and Miss Balestier scrubbed the back room of the saloon on their hands and knees, as the only available place for services. The Bishop sent Fr. Ohl, who later built the Church of the Ascension, and entered on a most fruitful ministry. He also married Miss Graves. Miss Balestier went to England and married Rudyard Kipling.

The Bishop had early acquired a site for a parish church some distance south of the Cathedral. There the first St. Mark's Church was built in 1885. Later on, the property was sold at a very great advance over its cost, and the present fine structure, the center of the notable and long ministry of the Rev'd. John H. Houghton, was erected. This was but one of many instances when the prudent foresight of the Bishop, coupled with his practical financial ability and his personal generosity, gave Denver so many of its churches. In an address in 1899, Bishop Spalding wrote: "It might seem I had done too much for Denver, but I do not think so. Denver is to be a very large city. This has been apparent to me all along from the beginning of my Episcopate. In my first year I formed my plans, and

have not materially deviated from them. There is much yet to be done before their full consummation, but everything will ultimately come out as anticipated. . . . We must go on boldly, fearlessly to do our duty. We must reach forth to possess the land, for there yet remaineth very much land to be possessed."

The same courage, prudence, and skill characterized his dealing with the weighty and seemingly hopeless problem of the Schools. With the School of Mines wisely returned to the Territory, Jarvis Hall and Matthews Hall were operated economically, but at a loss. Fortunately, in May, 1878, they burned; the Bishop collected some \$15,000 insurance. He built a new Matthews Hall in Denver, near the Cathedral, which was not only the home of the School of Theology, but the home also of the Bishop as its Chief Instructor. In 1888, new buildings were erected for Jarvis Hall and for Wolfe Hall, the latter a somewhat grandiose, but inconvenient structure on the site now occupied by Morey Junior High School.

One small further feature in Bishop Spalding's administration which has become a permanent part of Diocesan life may be mentioned. He secured the services of Sister Eliza from Philadelphia in 1875, thus recognizing the immense practical usefulness of lives so vowed to God. Her long and faithful service was followed by the formation of the Sisterhood of Saint John the Evangelist under Bishop Olmstead; and the Evangelical Life is still represented by the Order of St. Anne, administering its Home for Children in Denver, its summer work in the mountains, and its great undertaking of the Oakes Home; also by the Community of St. Mary at St. Raphael's House, Evergreen.

The extension of the work in the western part of the State seemed from the first, in Bishop Spalding's judgment, to call for the formation of a separate Missionary Jurisdiction. General Convention, meeting in Baltimore in October, 1892, created the Jurisdiction of Western Colorado, whose first Bishop, William Morris Barker, was consecrated on St. Paul's Day, 1893. The following year, he was transferred to Olympia, and the District placed under Bishop Leonard of Utah. At his death in 1903, his successor, Bishop Franklin S. Spalding, son of Bishop Spalding of Colorado, undertook its supervision. He visited every parish and mission in the region, and his conviction of its importance led to its revival as a separate Jurisdiction in 1907.

There followed the brief but superb work of Bishop Knight, a true Missionary, who sought out the lonely, the isolated, with all the enthusiasm which is often called forth only by the large city parish. He believed to the full that it is from the scattered and small popula-

tions that the city parish is eventually reinforced. Bishop Brewster and Bishop Touret succeeded him. By 1919, with the utterly changed conditions brought about by motor transportation, the District was reunited with the Diocese, which again became, as at first, co-terminous with the State; and the fourth largest Episcopal jurisdiction in the United States. Missionary aid from the General Church was granted the Diocese on behalf of Western Colorado until two years ago, when the Diocese, in view of the financial crisis in the whole Church, rightly and manfully assumed its own total responsibilities.

But to return to the earlier days of the Diocese. I was received into it as Minor Canon of St. John's Cathedral in 1894. My memories of those days, and of the two great men to whose arduous labours the Church owes so much, are very vivid. We young Deacons assembled often in Matthews Hall for lectures. The very lofty room lined with bookcases to the ceiling, holding the Diocesan Library of many thousands of well-chosen volumes, bespoke the learned theologian, the cultured student. When the Bishop entered, he would be a little restless, a little uncomfortable at first; but when he found an easy position, the hour passed as by magic. How we looked forward, week by week, to the time spent with our Father-in-God whose richly stored mind could so fascinatingly reveal the treasures of the past for our instruction. His own thoughtful and practical books, "The Church and her Apostolic Ministry," "Jesus Christ, the Proof of Christianity," and "The Best Method of Working a Parish," are still of real usefulness. Matthews Hall was not only the Seminary, but also the friendly home where we often enjoyed the democratic and gracious hospitality of the Bishop and Mrs. Spalding. It is not perhaps generally known that one of the greatest agencies for Christian work in America, the Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions, owed its existence partly to the initiative of Bishop Spalding, and that his wife was long its Diocesan President.

Of the great Dean, one remembers first of all his intense vitality and energy, his practical good sense, his wonderful care for the sick and needy, his profoundly deep and simple piety. He was generally up at five, and after a cup of tea, worked on those truly evangelical sermons which changed so many lives. They were always written out in full, and read from the manuscript; but read in so vivid a manner as not to lose directness in the least. His standards of reading divine service were of the highest; and woe to that curate who fell into indistinctiveness or sloppiness in the chancel. No one will ever forget the devotion, the reverence, the dignity which were shown by Dean Hart at Holy Communion.

His early mornings were spent with his God, his days with his people. The daily out-pouring of charitable effort from the Cathedral was as unostentatious as it was skilled and effective. Nor was the Dean ever away from the thick of the battle for civic righteousness. The very month of my arrival the deanery windows were stoned as an aftermath of his attacks on a disreputable newspaper. An ardent Evangelical, the Dean was open to conviction on many religious practices not then common among those of like belief. Noting that a Friday on which I was to preach was All Souls Day, I asked permission to speak on praying for the dead. He objected, until he was shown such prayers in the First Prayer Book of the Reformation: after which he not only gave the desired permission, but also publicly read the prayers himself at the service. After a similar citation of the First Prayer Book in the matter of Holy Unction, he withdrew opposition, sent me to Bishop Spalding to procure consecrated oil, and from that time on anointed the sick. With him a conviction always was carried into practical effect. One cannot too deeply revere such honesty, and such tireless faithfulness in the work of the ministry.

But to return to the Diocese. The Rev. F. W. Oakes, soon after his ordination in 1894, was not only able to raise the necessary sum to clear All Saints Church from debt, but interested wealthy friends as well in the project of a Home for Consumptives which was erected, endowed, and successfully operated for many years by the sole energy and capability of its founder. Today, after his retirement, its future usefulness seems assured.

In 1899 Bishop Spalding most forcefully reviewed the first twenty-five years of his Episcopate at the Diocesan Council, during which a great missionary service was held at his suggestion, with music by the united choirs of the city and a string orchestra of twenty-five under my direction. Bishop Graves of Laramie preached and urged eloquently that each Parish should be a center of missionary effort, and that its Rector should endeavor to evangelize all contiguous territory. The following year Bishop Spalding laid great stress on this idea, forcefully quoting Canon VII of the Diocese, that each Rector should give not less than four Sundays annually to missionary ministrations outside the Parish proper, and at the Parish expense, except as provided by the people ministered to. The thought of perpetual missionary effort was ever with him. He wrote of Fr. Byrne's mission, "The work is and always must be, missionary, and such is most of our Colorado work." This should be the final estimate of Bishop Spalding. Notable as were his achievements in finance, in scholarship, in administration, he was primarily a great missionary

Bishop. He had seen his Jurisdiction develop from adventurous uncertainties to settled stability, and yet he was deeply conscious that the Christian ministry of Priest or layman must remain adventurous, and never settle down to a mere holding of ground already won, to moving in a security, social or financial, without risk or hazard. He knew that the self-centered parish, the self-centered Diocese, will inevitably decay. And his great memory bids us all to work and pray and give for missions as did he himself; and constantly to sustain the arduous, untiring, and effective missionary effort of our dear Bishop Ingley, now in charge of that field of Diocesan work.

Failing health led to Bishop Spalding's request for a Coadjutor; and on January 8th, 1902, Charles Sanford Olmsted of Bala, Pennsylvania, was chosen for that post. Before his consecration, the old Bishop died in his son's home in Erie, among his parishioners of old time. At the Council of 1902 Bishop Boyd Vincent preached a memorial sermon, and gave the very key to Bishop Spalding's Episcopate in the text of his first sermon in Colorado, "To preach the gospel to the regions beyond." He had done so to such effect that communicants had increased ten-fold: and the following words written by Dean Hart testify to his stewardship in temporalities: "It will ever redound to the glory of the memory of Bishop Spalding that by remarkable financiering and by persistently holding in to property through the upheaval of the severest financial panics, he . . . managed to conserve to the several trusts the enormous sum of over \$900,000.00. This sum, since it takes no account of the value of churches and rectories, by no means represents the value of the property belonging to the Church of Colorado."

It is not the purpose of this paper to give any account of the succeeding Episcopates. They are recent and their achievements are well known to us all. But one or two further matters should perhaps be mentioned. The very winter of Bishop Spalding's death, Jarvis Hall burned, and it was evident that under changed educational conditions, its loss was not an unmitigated evil. In 1903, the old Cathedral burned. Dean Hart, by his practical wisdom and personal labour at the fire, saved the chancel windows and the fine wood carvings which we still have. He lived to see the completion of the beautiful new St. John's to its present stage, and to nominate our beloved Diocesan, Irving Peake Johnson, for his high office. But with the passing of Dean Hart to his eternal reward, the old days were finished, and these new times begun in which it behooves us to do our part in the carrying forward of the great works initiated by John Franklin Spalding and Henry Martyn Hart. God grant them both eternal rest, and may light perpetual shine upon them.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

THE following documents, hitherto unpublished and drawn from the Archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, shed interesting light on the state of the Church South Carolina in the year 1722, when Francis Nicholson was the royal Governor of the Province. They center around an application by the clergy for an increase of their stipend.

To his Excellency Francis NICHOLSON Esqr
his Majties Gov^r Cap^t Gen^l and Commander in
Chief of his Majties Province of South Carolina &c And to the Gentlemen of his Majties Hon^{ble} Council.

And to the Speaker & Rest of the Members of
the Hon^{ble} the Comons house of Assembly of
the Province of South Carolina.

The humble Petition of the Clergy of the said Province for the further Security of the Church of England there in and for the releif and Encouragement of the said Clergy.

FOR the further Security of the Church of England in this Province We humbly pray that the Act of Uniformity, together with the Act of Exempting Protestant Dissenters &c Comonly called the Tolleration Act, may be recognized and put in force here in the same Sence and Latitude as they are now in South Brittain.

Particularly that the Legislator would authorize and Assert the said Churches Undoubted Right and Priviledge of Marriage hitherto invaded by Dissenting Teachers; The Established Church having been always vested by the Civil Authoritys with the Sole Priviledge & Power of Marriage and its Bishops with sole Jurisdiction as to the Lawfullness of the same ever since the days of the first Christian Emperours and Accordingly at this day by the Laws and Constitutions of England. If Issue be joined on the Lawfullness of a Marriage it must be tryed by a Bishope in his Consistory Court: and for that Purpose the Courts of Law write to him to Certifye the Legality of the Marriage and then give Judgm^t Accordingly.

For our own Releife & Encouragem^t We humbly pray—

1. That a Certain and more Competent maintenance be

assigned to us then that of our present Sallary's. We flatter Selves that the known losses and Sufferings which for Several Years We have sustained by reason of low reduced value of Paper Money will alone recomend our case and Effectually Plead our request. Since we ask not for Wealth & Riches but only a Competency Suitable to the Dignity of our Sacred Office.

2. We Pray that an Assistant or Lectures place may be settled in Charles Town with a Suitable Encouragem^t and that the free School already Enacted to be there may be Perpetually Annexed to the Same, And that the Province, as by God's Blessing it Becomes Improved may be divided into more Parishes by Reducing those that are already therein into lesser & more Convent^e Bounds.

3. We Pray that the Laws whereby the Incumbents are obliged to keep in repair their Personge houses may be Repealed & the said repairs otherwise provided for in such Manner as You shall Judge most Convenient.

4. We Pray that some other method of Investing the Clergy with a Legall right and Title to their respective Benefices more Speedy and more Encouraging than the present may be Considered of and Enacted.

The Granting of the above Particulars will not only Enable us who are already in the Province to proceed in our Duty and Engage us more Effectually to labour in the Great Work we are sent unpo upon, but will also, We humbly Conceive, be a great Encouragem^t to others, so much Wanted to come to Ours not to say your Assistance.

William Tredwell Bull
Thomas Hasell
William Guy
A. Garden
Francis Merry.

Done at our General
Meeting in Charles
Town this 10th of
January 1721/2.

The aforesaid Petition was presented by the Governor to the Council and recommended by him on April 26th, 1722. It was referred to the Committee for the revisal of the Laws.

Address of the Clergy of South Carolina to Governor Francis Nicholson. (1722.)

To His Excellency Francis Nicholson Esq^r
Gov^r Cap^t General &c and the Gentlemen of
His Majesty's Hon^{ble} Council & to y^e Speaker

& y^e rest of the Gentlemen of the Hon^{ble}
Comons House of ASSEMBLY of his Majesties
Province of South Carolina.

The Humble Address of the Clergy of the said Province.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY & HONOURS.

We Your most Obed^t and humble Servants the Clergy of this Province humbly request Your Excellency and Honours, that as we hold it our duty you would indulge us in the pleasure to Acknowledge with the Utmost Chearefulness and Gratitude your great favour and goodness towards us in your late Act for Advancing our Salaries¹ and to return you our most humble and hearty thanks for the same.

Not to return our Publick and Solemn thanks on this Occasion for so Publick an Act of your goodness, though it were but in regard as it is of Private Interest or Advantage to us, would be to Offend against the Comon principles of Gratitude. But the far more weighty and powerful Motive of our thankfulness is that we humbly Conceive it a Demonstration, how much you have the far more Valuable Interest of the Church of England, in this Province, at heart; not only as we Conceive it a sure Test, that y^e Supply of what ever may be wanting for the Security, and that of the Ancient Rights Privileges thereof will be your care, and in due time the Result of your Wise Counsels; but also, as we Conceive it will prove of Certain Advantage to Religion and the said Church in Gen^l in affording such Competent Encouragement as will prevail Towards being Supplied with such Members of our Brethren from Great Brittain as the present Vacancies require which (through God's Blessing) will prove of such happy Consequence to the Province, as therein most effectually to reclaim Vice & Immorality, remove Ignorance, Enthusiasm, Prejudice and every cause of Schism & Dissention; and bring to pass that all Differences in religion Composed in the bosome of our Church like as for solid Virtue and piety, so for knowledge, Sound Doctrine, Catholick Unity, and Uniformity, it may be a pattern to all other the British Colony's in America.

We further humbly begg leave to return our most gratefull Acknowledgement^{ts} for the great hon^r and Obligation You have done us, in your so favourable Character of us, to our Right Reverend Diocesan² and the Hon^{ble} Society³ for &c. Wishing that as we are affraid we have not hitherto, our Future best Endeavours (which shall not be wanting) may but deserve it.

That God would Direct and Prosper all Your Con-

¹*On the suggestion of Governor Nicholson the Assembly passed an Act increasing the salaries of the clergy in South Carolina.*

²*The Bishop of London.*

³*Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.*

sultations to the Advancem^t of His Glory, the good of his Church, the Honour Interest and Service of his Majesty, and of this his Province, are and shall be the hearty prayers of

Your Excellency & Honours
Most Obed^t & humble Serv^{ts}

In the Upper House of
Assembly Aug. 2nd, 1722,
read and ordered to be
sent to the Comons House
of Assembly.

Test W^m Tunley.

Fran: Merry
Thos. Hasell
John Lapeinne (sic)
Willm. Tredwell Bull
Will Grey
Albert Ponderous
(A) S. Garden.

To His Excellency Francis Nicholson
Esq^r Gov^r Cap^t General &c of this
his Majesties Province of South
Carolina.

The Humble Address of the Clergy of the
said Province. (1722.)

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY

We Your Excellencys most Obed^t & humble servants the Clergy of the Province beg leave to attend Your Excellency on this Occasion with our particular most humble and hearty thanks for the particular Favour, Honour and Obligation done us, in your so heartily recommending our Petition to the Gen^l Assembly has had the happy Effect of the late Act for Advancing our Salaries.

Your Ancient and known Zeal for the Church of England has not abated, but rather (as the Object required) abounded towards her in this Province & towards us, so repeated and frequent have your Excellencies Acts of goodness and Generosity been, as either not to Allow us Opportunity, or not dareing least they should Offend, to return our Particular thanks for them, that we must content ourselves greatly to Acknowledge them in General, and that we retain just sence and Memory of them.

While for the Present as for all other Your Excellencies Numerous Favours toward us, we return you our most humble and Sincere thanks, Our Own Peculiar happiness in Your Excellencies Administracon, and renew our Solemn promises of our humble Submission and Faithfull Obedience thereto. We crave leave to take Notice to Your Excellency not without some Confusion that such Incorrigible Wickedness should lurk in this Province of Certain Detestible and Uncomonly Mallicious Preachers, tending to sedition, and the Disturbance of Your Governm^t; which not only the Clergy of the Church of England, but every man of Comon

Virtue and Honesty must Detest and Abhor; and which we assure Your Excellency we not only resent with the highest Indignation, but also shall in our severall Charges do all in our power to Oppose, Discourage and restrain them.

That God would long preserve Your Excellency to the Terrour of Evil Doers, & the praise of them that do well are and shall be the hearty prayers of

Your Excellencys

Most Obed^t & humble Servants

W^m Tredwell Bull

Tho^s Hasell

John le Pienne

W^m Guy

Albert Ponderous

Alexand^r Garden.

In order to make it effective, the Act of the Assembly required the royal assent. The necessary papers were sent to England by Governor Nicholson, who addressed the following letter to the Rev. David Humphreys, Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:

Charles City & Port South Carolina
July 6th 1722.

Sr

Our Assembly in Parliament Ordered a Letter to be writt to the Society and another to the Bishop of London. The Letters are signed by the Hon^{ble} Arthur Middleton Esq^r Presid^t of the Council who are in the nature of the Upper House and by the Hon^{ble} James Moore Esq^r Speaker of the Lower; and the Committee of Correspondence Appointed by both Houses have write to their Agents the Hon^{ble} Francis Yonge & John Lloyd Esq^r and I herewith send You an Extract from the said Letter and Mr Commissary Bull writes to the Society and Lord Bishop of London Concerning the Act for increasing the Sallary of the Clergy &c, and with his Letters sent a Copys of said Act by M^r Dymes & by this Opportunity I send Duplicates thereof.

I herewith send You Copys of my last Massages to the house of Comons concerning the Clergy &c and I thank God that all his Maj^{ties} Hon^{ble} Councill are very Zealous for our Church and the Hon^{ble} Francis Yonge Esq^r our Agent is one of the Principall—there are a few Dissenters in the house of Comons but neither they or their Brethren in this Country are Able to carry any Material thing contrary to the Interests of the Church. And I am in hope that if it please God we have Ministers enough to Supply all our Parishes that a great many of them will come over to Us which I hope will be one principle reason for the So-

cietys to send more Missionarys. According to the Desire of the Council & Assembly I begg that the Society will please to use their Interest to gett the Act Confirmed by his Maj^{ty} and it will not be in the power of any Assembly here to repeal it which otherwise may be done. I Desire that the Society will please to advance the money to be laid out in getting the Act passed and it shall be most thankfully be repaid them by

Your Affectionate ffriend
& humble Servant

Ffr. Nicholson.

I Desire You'l give the humblest of my Duty Service &c to the Members of our Society & I hope they will be plaesed to send hither a suitable number of the Sermons Preached before them as likewise of any other thing printed by Order of the Society. I likewise desire the Society will please to send a good Number of small Tracts especially of those concerning our holy Mother the Church and in doing of these things they will very much Oblige him who is

Their Affectionate ffriend & Obed^t
& faithfull humble Servant

Ffr. Nicholson.

HISTORICAL NOTES

The parish of St. Mark's, Grand Rapids, in the diocese of Western Michigan, celebrated its centennial during October and November. Among the bishops taking part were Bishops Rogers of Ohio, Dallas of New Hampshire, McCormick and Whittemore of Western Michigan.

St. James' Church, Hyde Park, in the diocese of New York, observed its one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of consecration on Sunday, November 1st, the sermon being preached by the Rev. Dr. E. Clowes Chorley, Historiographer of the diocese. The Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States, is the Senior Warden of the parish and a regular worshipper.

During the first week in October Christ Church, Woodlawn, Chicago, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. The Rev. Dr. Joseph A. Rushton was the first rector of the parish.

On October 21st the Rev. Dr. William Appleton Lawrence, rector of Grace Church, Providence, Rhode Island, was elected Bishop of Western Massachusetts. A son of Bishop Lawrence, he was born in 1889 and graduated from Harvard and the Union Theological Seminary.

St. Mark's Church in the Bouwerie, New York, celebrated its incorporation which took place in 1795. A wreath was laid on the bust of Peter Stuyvesant by the Dutch-American societies. The bust was presented by the Queen of Holland.

The Very Rev. Harry Beal, dean of the Cathedral of Los Angeles, has accepted his election as Bishop of the Panama Canal Zone.

HISTORICAL QUERIES AND ANSWERS

(Queries to be addressed to the Editor)

- Q. *Has any book been written about the Rt. Rev. Cicero S. Hawks, first Bishop of Missouri?* (From Mr. Frederic L. Fay, Trinity Church, Buffalo, N. Y.)
- A. There is no formal biography, but a sketch will be found in Perry: *The Episcopate in America*, p. 97. See also the church papers at the time of his consecration and death.
- Q. *Information is asked concerning any biographical sketch of Samuel Provoost (first Bishop of New York).* (From Rev. Dr. Louis C. Washburn, Christ Church, Philadelphia.)
- A. A biographical sketch of Bishop Provoost appeared in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for June and September, 1933. See also a sketch in Vol. II, *Hobart Correspondence*, p. 210ff. Additional information may be found in Dix: *History of Trinity Parish, New York City*.
- Q. *Mr. John Cox, Jr., 7 East Forty-second Street, New York, seeks information of the whereabouts of a "List of Burials during 1724-5"—See the Prov. M. S. S. of Trinity Corporation, A—No. 50. A Broadside by the Sexton, Welde (Welch).*
- A. Nothing is known of this document by Trinity Corporation, nor by the Editor of this Magazine. The query is passed on to our readers.
- Q. *Was the Church of the Holy Communion, New York City, the first "Free" Church?*
- A. No. St. Mary's Church, Manhattanville, New York City, was made a Free Church in 1835.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Life and Letters of Charles Inglis. By John Wolfe Lydekker, M.A. The S. P. C. K., London, and Macmillan, New York, Pp. 272. 1936.

Blessed be biography—and doubly blessed is this one by the Archivist to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It covers the ministry of Charles Inglis in colonial America and his consecration as first Colonial Bishop of the Church of England from 1759 to 1787.

In the first place, Charles Inglis was a person well worth knowing and now we can know him better than ever before. The author publishes in full Inglis' extant correspondence with the S. P. G. and such letters in the New York Historical Society as have been preserved, which are many and very important, thus allowing the reader to judge for himself the nature of Inglis' mind and character. The mystery of Inglis' formal education is still unsolved, but unquestionably he had the gifts and habits of a scholar.

In the second place, we are presented with an excellent picture of the ministry of an S. P. G. missionary in Colonial America. To be sure, Inglis was probably above the average in the success which he obtained as a missionary in Delaware. So successful was he that Trinity Church, New York, would not take "No" as an answer to the call to be its assistant minister, much to the distress of his Delaware parishioners.

In the third place, this book is an epitome of the later colonial struggle for the episcopate. If the reader knew nothing about it before he read this biography, he would have a pretty good idea of its main outlines after he finished. For Inglis was in the thick of the fight and one of its most ardent protagonists. The pleas of the missionaries in the New England and Middle Colonies were unceasing, but the growing hostility of the Dissenters, combined with the indifference or opposition of the Church in the South, was too great to overcome the indifference and timidity of the State in England. One could wish that White's letters to Inglis on this subject had been preserved. In one letter to White, dated October 22, 1783, Inglis

quotes White as having said in one of the latter's letters to him (p 230):

As to "the Obligation of the Episcopal Succession," which you say "you never could find sufficient Arguments to satisfy you of," I need only declare . . .

In other words, White at this time was not convinced of the "Obligation of the Episcopal Succession" and Inglis took sharp issue with him. His defense is quite modern:

. . . the Succession of that Order was continued by the inspired Apostles, who, equally under the Influence of the divine Spirit, dictated those Scriptures which are to be the Rule of Faith and practice to the Christian Church to the End of Time; and also appointed those Ministers, and that form of Government, which were ever after to continue in the Christian Church; and I conceive that we are as much bound to observe their Appointment and Directions in the one Case as the other.

Inglis had something to do with Seabury's consecration and much more with that of White and Provoost. On his return to England in January, 1784, Inglis was frequently consulted by the Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject of the American episcopate and did much to smooth the path for White and Provoost. It was this first-hand knowledge of his character and sound judgment which probably determined the Archbishop to nominate Inglis for the first colonial episcopate—Nova Scotia.

In the fourth place, the conditions of the Church and the Loyalists during the Revolutionary War are graphically portrayed, Inglis being rector of Trinity Parish, New York, from 1777 to 1783. If any evidence were needed that the population was sharply divided on the issues, that not all good men were on the side of the Revolutionists, that war is a devilish business which lets loose the baser passions of mankind, this book will supply it.

Certain minor errors should be noted. Samuel Seabury was not the missionary in New Brunswick, N. J., in 1766 as stated on page 69. He left New Brunswick in 1757, moved to Jamaica, Long Island, which he left for Westchester in December of 1766. Also, page 145, his letter must refer to New York and not New Jersey. The footnote on page 146 should be Westchester, New York, and not New Jersey. On page 185, the third footnote should be corrected to read that the Rev. E. Townsend was Missionary at Salem, New York, not New Jersey. On page 215, sixth line from the bottom, typographical error.

On page 218, Leaming is stated to have declined his election to the episcopate on the grounds of age. He himself gave a different reason (see HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Vol. I, p. 131):

"You ask why I was not Bp of Cont. I was Bp Elect; by vote of the Clergy here; but fearing the Chh might suffer under my poor Abilities, caused me to answer, *Nolo Episcopare*; Had I known that Dr S had so many personal Enemies, I should not have given the answer I did. This is under the Rose; and you force me to say that, which I wish not to be repeated."

In an appendix the author gives some helpful biographical notes concerning some of Inglis' prominent contemporaries. But none is given concerning the Rev. Dr. Burton, Secretary of the S. P. G. during much of the period; also, sketches of the more prominent bishops and archbishops would be helpful.

In conclusion, this splendid work indicates two more things: one, that the history of the American Colonial Church is still an unworked mine of rich ores for the historical student; and, second, that Charles Inglis is worthy of a second volume detailing his episcopate in Nova Scotia.

—WALTER HERBERT STOWE.

William McGarvey and the Open Pulpit. By the Rev. Edward Hawks. With a Foreword by His Eminence, Cardinal Dougherty, Archbishop of Philadelphia. The Dolphin Press, Philadelphia, Pa. 1935.

This is a notable book. From many points of view it is both interesting and provocative. Needless to say, however, its theological views are outside the province of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. The contents are larger than the title. For the historian its great value lies in the fact that it recites the history of the pro-Roman Anglo-Catholic Movement as it took rise and developed in Philadelphia—once the stronghold of the Evangelicals—from about 1870 to 1908. The story centers around the Reverend Dr. William I. McGarvey, a former prominent presbyter of the Episcopal Church who conformed to the Church of Rome in 1905 and attained the dignity of Monsignor. Dr. McGarvey was a distinguished authority on the American Book of Common Prayer and the author of a monumental book entitled *Liturgiæ Americanæ* (1895). He was the leader

of a group of clergy many of whom, like the author of this book, followed him in his allegiance to Rome. The mental and spiritual struggles which led to this step are vividly portrayed by Father Hawks. The passage of the Canon providing for what was erroneously called "the open pulpit" at the General Convention of 1907 was the signal for the secession of Dr. McGarvey and his associates.

The Movement began in Philadelphia in 1891, its outward expression being the formation of a clerical group taking the title of "The Companions of the Holy Saviour." From the outset celibacy was the inflexible rule, being regarded not only as an expression of self-sacrifice, but also as the most perfect mode of the priestly life. An important branch of the Companions of the Holy Saviour was established at Nashotah. One delightfully reminiscent chapter of this book is devoted to life in that seminary.

Father Hawks is happy in pen sketches. Leaders of the Catholic movement like Dr. Perceval, Bishop W. W. Webb, Fay, Bowler and others are skilfully sketched. Bishop Grafton of Fond du Lac is criticized for his insistence on ceremonial, but the severest strictures are reserved for the late Rev. Dr. Joseph Barry, one-time president of Nashotah. Between Dr. Barry and Father Hawks there is a direct contradiction as to the events which led Dr. McGarvey to Rome.

Nothing material would have been lost and much have been gained if the last chapter, entitled "Conclusion," had been omitted from this volume. In it Father Hawks forsakes the role of historian for that of the ecclesiastic pure and simple. This chapter not only introduces an element which has no legitimate place in an historical work, but it also enshrines statements some of which are questionable and others contrary to fact. On page 188 Father Hawks makes the extraordinary statement that "The Episcopal Church allows divorce so long as it is not asked to marry divorced persons with the same ritual as is ordinarily used." It would be difficult to imagine a more absurd and untrue statement. The same remark applies to the further statement (p. 188) that the Church "allows birth control prevention under the term 'eugenics.'"

In the Appendix may be found three papers written by Dr. McGarvey: "Celibacy of the Clergy"; "The Open Pulpit in the American Church"; and "The Future of the Catholic Movement." There is also a touching sermon preached on the occasion of his burial. However much one may differ from some parts of this book, it still remains true that it is a permanent addition to our knowledge of an important period in the life of the Episcopal Church.

—E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

The Orthodox Church. By Sergius Bulgakov. Translated by Elizabeth S. Cram. New York and Milwaukee. Morehouse. 224 pages. \$3.50.

What strikes the reader of this lucid exposition of the beliefs and practices of the Eastern Church most strongly is the amazing complacency with which the author views everything "Orthodox." There is but a single intimation that the Orthodox Church has anything to learn from Western Christianity, and this is in the field of everyday ethics only. He begins with the statement, "Orthodoxy is the Church of Christ on earth." He ends with the comfortable assurance that "the Orthodox Church is aware that she is the true Church, possessing the plenitude and purity of the truth," and that if Orthodoxy enters into conference on Church unity with other Christians, this "does not at all signify that it can renounce any portion whatever of its tradition. . . . Orthodoxy is present at such conferences to testify to the truth." "Orthodoxy is not *one* of the historic confessions, it is the Church itself, in its verity."

Veneration for the Virgin, which is "the soul of Orthodox piety"; prayers addressed to her and to the saints who, with her, protect us from Christ the judge; the teaching that at death the souls of the saints "do not altogether leave their bodies, but remain present in spirit and in grace in their relics"; that "angels share, constantly and actively, in the life of the world," and that beside them "there are fallen angels or demons, evil spirits, who strive to influence us"; that an icon is "a place of the Gracious Presence" of Christ or the saints, "and in this sense every icon which has received full power by the fact of having been blessed, is in principle a wonder-working icon" although only those "which have revealed themselves as possessing miraculous power," of which there are many, are so considered—all this, and much more which is likely to sound strange to most American readers, is presented as essential Christian truth. And, stranger still, it is said that it is Orthodoxy which the Christian peoples of the world are now seeking, although the author appropriately adds, "often without knowing it."

Lest, however, the impression be given that this is all there is to the book, the reviewer hastens to add that there are some admirably stimulating and suggestive chapters in exposition of the Orthodox view of "Tradition" as a guarantee of religious vitality, and of "Conciliarity" as a pledge of religious liberty and a method of Christian unity. Throughout the volume there are searching criticisms of Roman Catholicism and especially of papal pretensions, as well as an occasional attempt to interpret Protestant and Anglican positions sympathetically.

The translation by Mrs. Cram is so well done that it is difficult for the reader to realize that the book was originally written in anything but English.

—J. A. MULLER.

The Parish of Saint Paul's Church, Springfield, Illinois. Compiled by Edward Houghton, Rector. One Hundred Years, 1835-1935.

In the month of June, 1835, Philander Chase, newly elected Bishop of Illinois, held the first service of the church at Springfield when the population numbered 1,419. This is the centennial history of the first parish in that city. The present rector has gathered much interesting material covering the one hundred years and has added the sermon preached at the end of the first fifty years. The work is well done. Short sketches and excellent portraits of the five Bishops of Springfield add to its value.

Adventure in Faith. By James S. Russell. Morehouse Publishing Co. 1836. Pp. 117.

This is a fascinating autobiography penned by Archdeacon Russell before his lamented death in 1935. Born into slavery in 1857, the story runs the gamut of a struggle for education, entry into the ministry, and then passes on to his great life work in founding St. Paul's Normal and Industrial School for Negroes at Lawrenceville, Virginia. It will take its place as a source book for Negro work in the Episcopal Church; also as a missionary classic.

The First Hundred Years of St. Mary's on the Delaware.. By Helen Louise Shaw 1837-1937.

During the first thirty or forty years of the last century many church colleges and schools were established. Bishops felt the necessity of creating such institutions to hold youth for the Church. Among such was St. Mary's Hall, Burlington, New Jersey, a school for girls which was the pet and pride of George Washington Doane, second Bishop of New Jersey. Unlike many of the schools and colleges of that period, St. Mary's has survived and its story of one hundred useful years is enshrined in this beautiful volume. The publication was supervised by a committee the chairman of which was the Reverend Walter Herbert Stowe, one of the associate editors of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. The school was founded to provide higher education for girls under definitely Christian influences, and this volume shows how well these purposes have been carried out for a century. Unfortunately, a serious criticism must be added. It is not a complete history of the school. True history must tell not only the truth, but the whole truth. That this book fails to do. In his zeal for Christian education, coupled with a lack of business ability, Bishop Doane became so financially involved as to become the subject of ecclesiastical trial. By March, 1849, his indebtedness incurred for the schools reached the sum of \$260,000. No one thought of accusing him of personal dishonesty. He was caught in a vicious circle from which he found no escape. The whole story may be found in the Journals of the diocese of New Jersey. The fundamental fault of this book is that the story is suppressed. To write what purports to be a centennial history of any institution and deliberately omit a most vital part of the story is to put the work outside the pale of a true history.

—E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

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